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27 December 1985

# East Europe Report

## POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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# EAST EUROPE REPORT

## POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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FINNISH REPORTERS VISIT GREEK MINORITY AREAS

Helsinki HUFVUDSTADSBLADET in Swedish 6 Oct 85 p 11

[Article by Birgitta Ekstrom: "One of the Best Cooperatives in Albania: You Are Greek as Well as Albanian!"]

[Text] The village is called Dervitsani.

"Perhaps at one point a dervish lived here?" said our fellow traveler Nikolaos Papagiannis.

Maybe it's a diminutive form and means Little Derven, I suggested.

"No," said our new acquaintance, Lefteris Kondos, "it means 'the village near the road.'"

Dervitsani is one of the 17 villages which form the Dropolis cooperative, Drinopolis in Greek, in southern Albania, between the cities Saranda and Gjirokastra.

Sixteen Greek-speaking and one Albanian-speaking village make up the cooperative.

We visited Dervitsani on our trip to Albania last August because our group had expressed the desire to visit a linguistic minority in Albania.

Most eager of all was our Greek fellow traveler, Nikos Papagiannis, who lives in Sweden, but the group's two Finland-Swedes latched onto us as well.

Other than those, our group consisted of native Swedes, including Nikos's family.

The Dropolis cocperative includes 8,500 residents. The cooperative was formed in 1956, says Lefteris Kondos.

"In 1963 it became a so-called higher cooperative. We farm 4,000 hectares. The major product is grain; we get 4.5 tons wheat/hectare. The corn yields 8 tons/hectare. Eighty percent of the production process takes place with machines. Furthermore we cultivate tomatoes, potatoes, sunflowers and tobacco for the needs of the cooperative itself, and we also have cattle farming."

"Two thousand people live in Dervitsani. Each family has an average of three children. Here everyone speaks Greek, but the adult population also knows Albanian. However, the colloquial language is Greek. Our guide and interpreter for the whole trip, Victor Ristani, is only allowed to straighten out difficult questions, because Nikos Papagiannis is in his right element and translates from the Greek for us.

Transient Movement is Insignificant

"The transient movement in the country is very minor as regards the linguistic minority," Lefteris Kondos states.

"Not many Albanians move here from other places. If anyone comes to our village he has to learn Greek, because that is what we all speak here."

And, sure, it happens that Albanians who do not speak Greek move here--we have such beautiful girls...They move here and marry. If villagers leave, they are usually highly educated people who have obtained employment elsewhere.

For example, if there are many physicians or veterinarians, we don't need them all, but there are surely places where they are needed.

Here you move to the place of work you are assigned after completed studies and practical training.

Emigration and Illiteracy

The Greeks in Dervitsani say that they have full rights as Albanian citizens. This is not the way it was before the liberation, as they say.

Before the war the minority groups in Albania were among the poorest and least developed in the country.

There were plenty of problems, bread was scarce and water had to be fetched from Libohove a good bit from the village itself. It was very dry in the Dervitsani region.

Emigration became another problem. Out of a village of 140 families 50 emigrated. Ninety percent of the population was illiterate. There were neither linguistic nor tradition-based rights for any minority.

"Everyone received land to farm and the 5-year plans have improved the standard of living. The water problem was resolved in 1950. (No privately owned land exists in Albania; this as a comment on the above, the meaning of which was rather that everyone made a secure living.)

Schooling in the Mother Tongue

Each village has a Greek-speaking school, and three villages have a common higher school. Schooling last 8 years, to which is added a 4-year high school with 1 year of practical training.

In first grade in school the Greek children also learn the Albanian alphabet, and gradually they learn Albanian in school. History, social studies and

language are studied in the mother tongue throughout the school period; some subjects, such as mathematics, are taught in Albanian the last 3 years.

Everyone except the oldest in the village can also speak Albanian.

In Gjirokastra there is a teacher training college for Greek-speaking teachers. In Gjirokastra a newspaper is also published in Greek. Moreover, it is possible to watch Greek television and listen to Greek radio--and one does, too, say the village inhabitants during our interview meeting. In other connections it has previously been shown that social control in the country is good as regards foreign television programs and foreign music, but this may have been mostly in reference to Italian and Yugoslav programs.

Greek-speaking Albanians are not discriminated against when it comes to influential positions.

There are Albanian-Greeks who have occupied ministerial posts and certain chairmanships in the labor party. On the other hand, it is interesting that the country's minorities are not mentioned in the books and summaries I have recently read.

Each village has its own health clinic with a doctor, health workers and dentist. Medical care is free. At present there are 17 physicians to each district in Albania, or as many as four districts had before the liberation.

Comrade Enver's Spirit Lives

People tell us that comrade Enver Hoxha (pronounced Hodja) visited the central community of Grapsi in 1978 and warmly endorsed the continued existence of the Greek minority with its traditions. It has, as have the other Albanians in the country, fulfilled the party's demands and objectives.

Comrade Enver Hoxha died in the spring of 1985, but his spirit is still very much alive among the Albanians in the form of posters and slogans on walls and beside roads.

His name is found on most mountain peaks (lined-up stones?) and he is frequently referred to in various situations.

Northern Epirus, Southern Albania

"Do you feel like Greeks or Albanians," someone in our group asks. Lefteris and Michalis look at one another and shrug. It says in the passports of the Greek-speaking Albanians that they are of Greek nationality but Albanian citizenship.

"When we speak Greek we are Greeks. When we speak Albanian we are Albanians. There is no difference. The most important thing, they say, is that they have the same history and the same traditions, and they have also had the same enemies.

They then refer to comrade Enver; he has written a book about the friendly relations of two nations.

In fact, the state of war between Greece and Albania is still in effect, but negotiations have been initiated in order to normalize conditions formally as well.

There are Greeks who even today regard portions of Albania as "northern Epirus." (On the other hand, large parts of present-day Greece have been called "southern Albania;" this was the case when the Greek war of liberation broke out in 1821 and no unified Greece existed. There is also a famous portrait of Lord Byron in Albanian costume from Byron's Greek journey in 1813, painted by Thomas Philips.)

The Religions Have Been Abolished

We ask about the Orthodox faith, which is highly alive in Greece today. We have already learned that an extensive youth movement took place in 1967, and that it was then decided that religions are no longer needed. Then they were simply abolished.

Today religion is regarded as superstition and extensive work is undertaken among the youth in order to eradicate religion in general. Reference is made to the cooperation of priests with the former upper class and with the Germans during the war.

One believes that the church oppressed the people, in particular women. Furthermore, this concerns not only the Orthodox faith; Islam was just as widespread.

"Faith is a private matter and it can be practiced at home," say the objects of our interview in Dervitsani. In any event, in other connections we have previously heard that gathering several people for prayer or religious service in one's home is not permitted.

What did the old people in the village say about the abolished religion? We ask an old woman in the village, but she dismisses us and hisses: What do you want with me?

Regarding funerals Lefteris Kondos says that they are still solemn and moving arrangements. The deceased is followed to the grave, and the ceremony is even better now than during the time of the church, in his opinion.

Mosque Became Sports Hall

And the churches? Up to 1967 each village had its own church. Many still exist today. Some have cultural historic value and have been preserved as museums or cultural monuments. Others have been converted to houses for cultural politics for young people.

In Shkodra there is said to be a large mosque which has become a court for ball games! But there were also churches in poor repair, and they were torn down. Three churches have been preserved in Dervitsani. They are believed to have architectural value and they have beautiful paintings. We do not have time to see them; they are 45 minutes away, by mountain climbing.

Do the Greeks in the village have any contact with their relatives in Greece?

Yes, during the last 5 years it has been possible to travel to relatives in Greece and relatives are also allowed to come to Albania to visit. We have met such visiting relatives, among others an Albanian family which has come from the United States to Gjirokastra.

Visitors Have Prejudices

"What do Greeks who come here to visit say," we wonder. Lefteris and Michalis smile broadly.

"They have tremendous prejudices when they arrive, but when they return home they write rather favorably in their own press," they say.

"And you, have you visited Greece?"

Yes, Lefteris has travelled with the Cultural Policy Association, and the delegation was met with great warmth and friendship in Greece.

He believes that both Albanian Greeks and Greeks in Greece are fighting for peace and socialism, but the struggle is not conducted in Greece the same way it is in Albania. But he thinks the Greeks in Greece live a stormy and stressful life, from the aspect of human value.

Everyone is only interested in himself and not in society. There people are a little disdainful regarding the Albanian mentality. He is also of the opinion that Greek culture, in particular the young people, is infiltrated by American views. This is also evident from the Greek television they watch, the undercurrents of which they do not understand, however.

We ask whether the Albanian Greeks have their own Greek-language literature and whether it is printed in Albania or imported, but the question is lost in the discussion that breaks out. Someone asks what people in Dervitsani know about Sweden.

The reply is that the Swedes are industrious and peaceful and that all Albanian groups which have visited Sweden have written very favorably about their visit in the Albanias press. They say they appreciate the Swedish policy of neutrality. Albania imports trucks from Sweden--yes, we have encountered them on the roads. We refrain from questioning the Dervitsani residents about their knowledge of Finland and talk instead about our own linguistic minority. It turns out that Lefteris Kondos is a carpenter by profession and has read about the Finnish furniture industry.

Each Village Has an Amateur Theater

We have been sitting in Dervitsani's palace of culture and have been treated to cold water and watermelon, which we eagerly gobbled up in the heat--35 degrees [C] outside, 35 degrees inside; despite many open windows there is no draft.

We again descend to the first floor in order to watch the obligatory photo exhibit with some partisan history and some local history. In every community

people are equally proud of their history and they have a small museum. In the palace of culture there is also a small auditorium which is used for film showings. It has space for more than 400 persons. Every village in the Dropolis cooperative has its own amateur theater. In 1981 the Dervitsani amateur theater toured all of Greece, Lefteris Kondos tells us.

The village also has its own soccer team. They find the practice of selling soccer players to be shocking and conclude that even Sweden practices this custom....

We exit into the square in order to meet more of the village inhabitants, and there is also a group of construction workers from Gjirokastra on their lunch break in the shade of a house.

Little Andreas Papagiannis, 6 years, stands under a large tree surrounded by villagers and members of our travelling group. He is doing his best to interpret between Greek and Swedish, and the curiosity is equally great on both sides. But when the Swedish girls suggest that he should ask the Greeks to sing for them, he refuses. After all, such a silly suggestion one simply can't translate ....

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CSO: 3650/43

MEDIOCRE LITERARY WORKS CRITICIZED BY NOTED WRITER

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 27 Oct 85 p 3

[Article by Ismail Kadare: "Raising the Level of Literature"]

[Text] Comrade Ramiz Alia's speech at his meeting with the writers and artists of Korea, and his very important remarks in connection with demands for a higher level in our literature and arts, for a struggle against the average and mediocre level, and especially with respect to the danger which this environment brings about, constitute a broad working program for our artists. Upon its correct comprehension depends, to a substantial degree, the further development of our literature and arts, as well as the continuation, with dignity, of that successful, forty-year old path which has provided them with the love and respect of the entire people.

Let us say, at the beginning, that these remarks by the First Secretary of the Party Central Committee, along with an understandable concern, inspire deep satisfaction among our artists. Requiring a high level of arts and letters means, first of all, respecting them. The contrary would be a sign of their underestimation.

From the time of ancient Rome until our own day, history has known many states and administrations which were interested in literature insofar as they served their immediate interests - often perverse ones, such as the glorification of ruling castes or the creation of mystical, submissive or militaristic psychoses. They were completely contemptuous of artistic level and if great art arose and developed under their regimes, it not only suffered their total scorn, but also attracted their hatred and often their punishment.

It is only the socialist state that can be sincerely interested, in a full and correct manner, in the development of art. It is only in the socialist system that the state and art do not have separate interests, but common ones. The demands for a high artistic level fully attest to this.

This recently renewed demand lies within the logic of the development of our literature and continues the forty-year old policy of the party on art, and it is also in accordance with the teachings of our unforgotten leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha. It is in line with the teachings of Marxism-Leninism.

The statements of the classics of Marxist-Leninism regarding the problem are well known. They include Marx's criticism of the mediocre German literature of his time, Lenin's quip that a thousand average novels are not worth as much as Tolstoy's "War and Peace", and the studies and letters where they express their admiration for the high artistic level of the masterworks of world literature, etc.

Comrade Enver often emphasized the need for a high level in art and literature. At the 8th party congress, Conrade Enver raised the problem of quality as a problem of prime importance.

In raising the problem of level, our literature of socialist realism affirms its development and vitality. If a decline in this level has been observed recently, it has been observed precisely in the framework of the high level of this literature. If Albanian literature of the epoch of socialism had been of a mediocre level, its recent deficiency would not even had attracted attention. But the level has been high since our demands are high. In the final analysis, maintaining the level is as difficult, if not more difficult, than creating it.

Our task is to understand correctly the demands which are made upon us. We must understand them seriously, with that lofty feeling of responsibility which creation dictates for our epoch, our people and our nation. This requires placing the interest of literature, as a national value, above narrow personal interest, which are sometimes petit bourgeois and shabby, and above the misunderstandings, pride and vanity of this or that author or editor.

Let us not conceal the fact that many authors may be offended by the raising of this problem. But there are no middle roads here: they will be offended in order that literature should not be offended. On the other hand, it would be unforgivable to harm literature for the sake of one person or other.

In his speech of 20 December 1974, Comrade Enver, in order to differentiate values in art, said: "Those of great value, the masterworks, remain as immortal and ineradicable monuments throughout the centuries; others, with some sort of mediocre value, are mentioned for a time, while those that are worthless are completely forgotten and no one speaks of them any longer."

Average and mediocre works are inevitable during the process of literary development. It has been and will always be this way. With regard to average works, it must be said that, in contrast to mediocre ones, they often have a relative value and play a helpful role in literature. They sometimes complete various representations of life which literature of a higher level does not succeed in capturing and they sometimes even suggest and explore untreated themes and subjects as well. But these themes, treated at an average level. await reworking by more distinguished writers in order for them to enter the treasury of literature. Thus, it has often happened that even the subjects of masterworks, such as those by Aeschylus, Dante, Shakespeare or Goethe, were treated earlier by average writers, but their names were lost after time knew

as their authors those who treated these subject not in an average manner, but majestically. From this standpoint, it may be said that average works have often been sacrificed for the general good of literature.

But here it must be stressed that creation of the average type, while it does not bring any direct harm as such, nevertheless becomes harmful and even dangerous for the literature of a people when average creation seeks to move up from its place and occupy a guiding position in art. From the moment that this happens, and therefore from the moment that average literature seeks to become, or is proclaimed by literary criticism to be, the norm, the model and the aspiration, it becomes a completely negative phenomenon. In this regard, Comrade Remiz emphasizes the danger of the "mentality of adaptation to and satisfaction with the average and sometimes medicore level."

Without exaggeration, it may be said that the literature which accepts the average as a model has sounded its own death-knell.

Have there been attempts to adapt to the average in our literature? Naturally there have, especially in recent times. It is understandable that adaptation should exist among authors of this level, but it is inexcusable when it occurs in literary criticism. And it is a great misfortune if it should happen with readers. Fortunately, however, our readers have been up to now, a major barrier against the mentality of the average. It is the opinion of readers, of the people, which, together with the more advanced opinion of our literature and arts, coincides completely with the demands which the party has recently made on the arts through the First Secretary of the Central Committee.

There have been average creations both within the general framework of literature and within the creative work of a single author. Even our distinguished authors have produced average creations. Let us recall, as examples, works such as the stories "Kenge ne Miniere" [A Song in the Mine] by Dh. Shuteriqi and "Drite" [Light] by Sh. Musaraj, the drama "Zemra" [The Heart] by J. Xoxe, and the novels "Brezat" [The Generations] by Fatmir Gjata, "Buze Liqenit" [The Lakeside] by S. Spasse, "Trendafili ne Gote" [The Rose in the Glass] by D. Agolli and the novel "Dasma" [The Wedding] by the author of these lines.

Now we should ask, "What would become of these authors if they were satisfied with these works, with their level and with the praise given to some of them by criticism?" Undoubtedly, both they and Albanian literature would lose a great deal. But if they are considered, correctly, renowned Albanian authors, they have this reputation because they trample on their ordinariness every day, do not adapt to it and thus do not damage themselves and literature.

Other famous authors, such as Dh. Xhuvani, V. Koreshi, T. Laco, N. Prifti, N. Lera, S. Drini, etc., struggle against the average aspects of their work. Some have more success and some have less. Some advance, like V. Koreshi in "Dasma e Sakos" [Sako's Wedding], again to give just one example, and some

occasionally remain in one place, like T. Laco in his recent stories. This in in accordance with the logic of the living development of a literature which proceeds and seeks, which has joy, but which can also be sad at times.

After Comrade Ramiz Alia's speech, several articles were published in our press in order to draw directives and data from it, but now this has still not been one in an adequate manner. I believe it is neither correct nor serious that some critics, in order to find "averages", search in the most remote districts of the country and among beginning and unknown authors. When the works of better known authors have been criticized, an effort has been made immediately to defend them. This has happened, for example with the novels "Shtepia" [The House] by A. Cerge and "Bashkekohesit" [The Contemporaries] by V. Koci, which were correctly evaluated by criticism as examples of average and schematic literature.

I think that the attempt which has been made in a certain literary organ to oppose criticism is unprincipled. These novels are truly schematic and of an unsatisfactory level, and to insist on presenting them as anything else, as works with value which enrich our national literature, means neither more nor less than harming the developmental process of this literature. It would be well for the artists of average or mediocre level and for the critics who support them to understand that such behavior is inadmissible. It is also unacceptable for socialist ethics and morality when there is boasting about ordinary works by some authors in articles and reviews which appear in organs where they themselves work, as is the case in the newspaper DRITA. Just as foreign to our ethics are the praises of ordinary creations by artists who have various administrative functions.

It is impossible to combat adaptation to the average and the mediocre if the editorial boards of various organs, and especially that of the "Naim Frasheri" publishing house, are not included in such a struggle. But there are cases where this does not occur. Thus, for example, Thanas Leci, the director of the "Naim Frasheri" publishing house, along with some of his co-workers, instead of heeding the just demands of readers and the whole of our literary opinon on publishing at a higher level, are dominated by a sick pride and show an unjustifable irritatibility in the face of any criticism that is made. For them, it is natural that writers and poets should be criticized in print, as long as they are never touched. They hasten to associate themselves with the successes of literature, which is right, but they proclaim themselves independent of its shortcomings.

Their satisfaction with average works, which they consider suitable for publication, their opinion that because they have publishing in their hands they are in a privileged position in relation to authors, and the incorrect idea that they are not the servants of literature, as authors are too, but its incontestable arbiters, have made these administrtators lose their sense of self-criticism, which has had a negative influence on publishing.

All of us, authors and publishers, editors and critics, have a responsibility to raise the level of literature. No one can justify himself with any alibi. The Union of Writers and Artists has a special responsibility; the average

writers themselves are responsible if they do not make efforts to raise their level, but the writers of a higher level are equally responsible if they withdraw to the sidelines and look on, saying, "We have our level; this problem does not concern us."

The problem concerns everyone, even readers, whose taste, demands, suggestions and pressure play a greatly positive and extremely sensitive role.

The average and mediocre level also exercises a continual pressure. It seeks to stabilize its position if it has gained one and to regain if it is has lost it; it gives way with difficulty if it has been placed in a vacuum. Its final demand is that it should become the master and dictate laws in literature.

It has the most diverse ways of exerting pressure. It utilizes the shortcomings that occur in the texts of literary readers, where despite the notes, mediocrity has firmly established itself, gravely harming the esthetic tastes of thousands of pupils. The psychology of adaptation to the average is often aided by extra-literary factors: bureaucracy, inability, the petit-bourgeois spirit and sentimentality. A typical example is the series publication of works by our authors - a good initiative, but one which was in danger of becoming the reverse of the original intention. From a group of publications which would compromise a major collection of literature of the epoch of socialism, under the aforementioned pressure it extended its criteria to include some average and even mediocre works. Someone may ask, "Why this strictness of criteria? What would happen if we showed more generosity and gave you the satisfaction of a greater number of works?"

There is only one response to such psychoses of weakness: literature is not a charitable institution, nor a means of satisfaction for a number of writers and poets. It is not only a matter of writers and poets. It is, in the first place, a concern of everyone. What can appear to be "harmless generosity," such a calling some author's book a classic when it is nothing of the sort, creates confusion, destruction of equilibrium and a harmful shock, which then take over the whole structure of literature. Thus, with this concession, we would truly make an author's birthday happier, but we would cause grave disorders in this national wealth.

Literature is an important part of our culture and culture is part of the freedom and independence of our country. It is our task to behave toward it with the seriousness with which we behave toward matters which we consider great and cherished.

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## DAILY ON AFGHAN REVOLUTIONARY COUNCIL DOCUMENT

AU021324 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 26 Nov 85 p 6

[Article signed "zr": "A Program Document of the Revolutionary Council of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan; On the Nature of the April Revolution"]

[Text] Kabul (zr)--According to a TASS report, an extraordinary session of the Revolutionary Council of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan [DRA] was held in Kabul on 9 November 1985, which discussed and approved the declaration "On the peoples democratic nature of the April Revolution and its urgent tasks in the current conditions." In his speech, B. Karmal, general secretary of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan [PDPA] and chairman of the DRA Revolutionary Council, noted that this document must become the foundation for all political, economic, and organizational activity of the country's state agencies and social organizations. The Politburo of the PDPA Central Committee called for extensive activity oriented toward explaining the declaration and mobilizing the working people for its implementation.

The 1978 April Revolution, the declaration states, was carried out in the name of the realization of the country's national interests and the satisfaction of the aspirations of broad popular masses.

The revolutionary masses, respecting and strictly adhering to historical, cultural, and religious traditions, proclaimed the DRA and set its nationwide tasks: The defense of the country's independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity; the further reinforcement of the achievement of the April Revolution; the implementation of its goals and ideals; the ensurance of the extensive and active participation of the country's working people and all patriotic forces in national-democratic, antifeudal, and anti-imperialist changes and in transforming Afghanistan into a developed and prosperous state.

In the past 7 years, the DRA achieved marked successes. Socioeconomic transformations, including the land and water reform, are being carried out. The national economy and the culture of the nations of Afghanistan are developing, and the process of the democratization of the social and political life continues. The revolution has proclaimed the quality of all nationalities and tribes, equal rights for all citizens regardless of social status, nationality, sex, and religious belief. The international standing of Afghanistan has been consolidated, and the DRA's role in the nonaligned movement has increased.

The holding of loya jirgah [loja dzirga], the highest jirgah of the border tribes, and the successful beginning of the elections for local organizations of state power, has demonstrated people's sincere support for and approval of the party's and government's domestic and foreign policy.

These progressive changes, the declaration states, are taking place under conditions when international imperialism and its helpers are carrying out an armed intervention in the DRA's internal affairs, when the revolutionary people must tenaciously fight the domestic and foreign counterrevolution.

The DRA Revolutionary Council notes that the development of the revolution was not smooth. In addition to the difficulties connected with combating the domestic and foreign counterrevolution, the process of the realization of important changes had been complicated by errors and blunders. The new leadership has inherited a backward economy, the majority of the population was illiterate; it has inherited poverty, hunger, unemployment, disease, social relations of the feudal and prefeudal period, and split democratic forces. Long and patient work will be necessary for the country to get onto the path of material and spiritual progress.

The revolution corresponded to the interests of the majority of the Afghan people, and all patriots who identify themselves with its ideals have the right and should take an active part in building a new, democratic Afghanistan. The declaration states that in this one must not permit the occurrence of leftist, extremist, and voluntarist deviations and assessment of reality. An important task is to create a situation throughout the country's entire territory in which all issues could be resolved jointly, without the use of weapons, in an atmosphere of trust, cooperation, and brotherhood, on the basis of national conciliation.

The DRA Revolutionary Council proceeds from the fact that the substance of state power in Afghanistan is contingent upon the national-democratic nature of the April Revolution. It presupposes the broad participation of representatives of all social groups and strata of the population, all true patriots--workers, farmers, middle-sized [stredni] farmers, intelligentsia, soldiers of the armed forces, national entrepreneurs [narodni podnikatelia], and businessmen, spiritual figures, authoritative representatives of all nationalities and tribes in the management of state affairs in the political, socioeconomic, and cultural life. The people's government leans on centuries-old traditions of democracy and supports the form of self-determination through jirgahs or the councils of elders. Only the armed intervention by imperialism and reaction prevents the realization of free elections of new power agencies on all levels. The council appealed to all Afghans, including those who are abroad, to join in building a prosperous and independent Afghanistan.

[AU021325] The Revolutionary Council, it is being stressed further, will also, in the future, strive for further working people to join in the country's management, for heightening material prosperity, improving working conditions and the life of workers and all working people. The greatest importance is being attached to the solution of the agrarian issue in the interest of working farmers, and cooperation in the organizations of farmers cooperatives on a strictly voluntary basis.

Industrial production must be systematically increased through accelerated development of the state and mixed sectors, establishing cooperative enterprises, and helping home workshops and traders. The state will also in the future increase the role of the national intelligentsia in society's life, and broadly enroll it in the implementation of cultural changes in the acceleration of the country's economic progress. It will step up the nationwide struggle against illiteracy. The incoming generation will be given everything it needs for successful education, and cultural, and physical development.

The DRA Revolutionary Council, it is said further, guarantees and strives to ensure in reality all nationalities and tribes that live on the territory of united democratic Afghanistan, not only legal, but also genuine equal rights in the sphere of the economy and culture. The development of backward peripheral [okrajove] nationalities and tribes in the local state power agencies will be ensured. The policy of trust, peace, and cooperation will continue to be implemented in relations among tribes. The DRA Revolutionary Council is convinced that tribes--in this very complex period for the country--will take an even more active part in state affairs, especially in the defense of the fatherland against attacks from the side of the forces of imperialism and their helpers.

One works consistently and tenaciously also on the reinforcement of the National Patriotic Front by expanding its prerogatives, enrolling in its activities all those that sincerely wish to take part in building new Afghanistan. The further perfection requires the activity of mass organizations, such as trade unions, the Democratic Organization of Afghan Youth, the Democratic Organization of Afghan Women, and the creative unions of the intelligentsia.

The Revolutionary Council affirms that people's power guarantees respect for and the defense of Islam, and ensures total freedom of religious rites. At the same time, the document states, Islam must not be misused for goals hostile to the people, for the benefit of imperialists, colonizers, and their mercenaries.

International imperialism and religious reaction, the declaration stresses, are waging an undeclared war against Afghanistan, a war that is accompanied by an extensive campaign of slander. In order to defend Afghanistan's national sovereignty, territorial integrity, and national independence against intervention from without, the DRA Government had to--on the basis of the norms of international law and the UN charter--turn to the Soviet Union--its reliable, true, and traditional friend. The council confirms that the limited contingent of Soviet troops will leave Afghanistan immediately after the halting of the armed intervention, and the DRA receiving guarantees that this intervention will not be resumed.

The Revolutionary Council, together with the PDPA Central Committee and the DRA Government, the declaration states, are establishing a unified comprehensive defense system, which consists of the army, tsarandol [carandoj] (people's militia), units of the Defenders of the Revolution, civil defense groups, and tribal troops. Every Afghan patriot must help to strengthen the armed forces,

increase their combat capability, so that they can fulfill with dignity their sacred duty in the defense of the DRA's national sovereignty and the achievements of the revolution. The reinforcement of the country's defense capability and its proceeding toward national cohesion are the decisive factors for halting the armed intervention into the DRA's internal affairs from without.

The DRA's foreign policy, the Revolutionary Council proclaims, is oriented toward the reinforcement of general peace and toward the development of comprehensive international cooperation. The government's activity rests on the observance of the UN charter and the principles of peaceful coexistence. It is the policy of active and positive nonalignment and strengthening of relations with other states, mainly with the states that are the DRA's neighbors.

Afghanistan is honorably striving to reach a political settlement of problems and conflicts. The friendship with the USSR has withstood all tests of time and has become a priceless achievement of the nations of our country.

The PDPA plays a vanguard role in Afghanistan's revolutionary process. It is the directing and organizing force and expresses the most profound interests of all people. It was establishing and will continue to establish its relations with all patriotic strata of the population and social organizations on an equal and constructive basis of cooperation, trust, and mutual respect. In this historical moment, the Afghan people understand that to realize the noble objectives and tasks of the national democratic revolution one needs unity and cooperation of all inhabitants of Afghanistan, of the country's all-national and patriotic forces.

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CSO: 2400/96

## RUDE PRAVO ON UK DECISION TO LEAVE UNESCO

AU091219 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 7 Dec 85 p 7

[Commentary by Stanislav Stepanek, RUDE PRAVO's Paris correspondent: "In the Footsteps of Washington"]

[Text] British Prime Minister M. Thatcher officially announced on Thursday [5 December] that Great Britain would leave UNESCO effective 1 January 1986. There is no point in repeating London's arguments. They are the same as those used by the United States a year ago. Hardly anyone believes that M. Thatcher would like to save money in this way. The French right-wing paper FIGARO has admitted that the sums involved are more or less negligible for Great Britain. Anyhow, Great Britain will use the money for so-called bilateral aid, which--once again in accord with Washington--it considers to be more effective for asserting its own interests.

The British Government has let it be heard that it regards the results of the general conference of UNESCO held in Sofia recently as "insufficient." This is interesting: at the conference, the British delegation endorsed all the adopted documents. Apparently, London has now changed its mind. Has it come to its "senses?" More likely, it has been brought to them.

UNESCO was well on its way to coping with the financial difficulties caused by the U.S. withdrawal and the political impact expected by Washington has not taken place. Great Britain is to "put this right" by its withdrawal and will attempt to touch off an avalanche of followers from among American allies. It is not surprising then that reports about the intended withdrawal of the Netherlands appeared soon after the British decision. It is all too obvious that neither the United States nor Great Britain are concerned with reforms to improve UNESCO's operations. Side by side with Washington, London has launched a broad political campaign boycotting an important sphere of international cooperation. No wonder this step has become the target of strong criticism in Great Britain itself, and not only in the ranks of the opposition. Former conservative Prime Minister Edward Heath has called M. Thatcher's decision an "enormous error."

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## BRIEFS

STROUGAL TOURS IRAQ--Iraq--Lubomir Strougal, premier of the Czechoslovak Government, who is on an official visit to Iraq, left Baghdad this morning with his entourage for Iskandariyah and Babylon. In Iskandariyah, he will visit a tractor factory which, in cooperation with Czechoslovakia, annually produces about 5,000 tractors of the Antar Zetor make. In Babylon, Lubomir Strougal will see world-famous cultural and historical memorabilia, preserved thanks to archaeological research. In the afternoon, the CSSR premier will see the historical and cultural sites of the Iraqi metropolis of Baghdad, which has 4 million inhabitants, and its new buildings. He will also visit the local international trade fair. [Text] [Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0830 GMT 1 Dec 85] /9365

BILAK RECEIVES ETHIOPIAN DELEGATION--Vasil Bilak, CPCZ Presidium member and its secretary, received today the delegation of the Workers Party of Ethiopia led by Ashagre Yigletu, secretariat member and secretary of the party Central Committee. In the discussion they exchanged experiences from their parties' activity and assessed possibilities for further developing relations and cooperation between the parties. Vasil Bilak familiarized the Ethiopian guests with the preparations of the CPCZ for its coming 17th congress. The head of the Ethiopian delegation spoke about the fulfillment of the conclusions of the founding congress of the Workers Party of Ethiopia and achievements scored by the peoples of Ethiopia in overcoming the consequences of the catastropic drought that afflicted Ethiopia. At the same time he thanked on behalf of the party and state leadership of Ethiopia for the assistance provided by the peoples of Czechoslovakia to the peoples of Ethiopia. In conclusion an agreement was signed on cooperation between the CPCZ and the Workers Party of Ethiopia. [Text] [Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1400 GMT 6 Dec 85] /9365

RADIO COOPERATION WITH PARIS--Jan Risko, director of Czechoslovak Radio, and Pierre Henri Dessoux, director general of French radio Radio France', today in Prague signed an agreement on radio cooperation for the next 5 years. The new agreement sets out a considerable broadening of mutual exchange of radio programs and workers. [Text] [Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2030 GMT 6 Dec 85 LD] /9365

HOFFMAN RECEIVES YEMENI TU OFFICIAL--Prague (CTK)--Karel Hoffman, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and chairman of the Central Trade Union Council (UROGLN), met in Prague yesterday [26 November] with Ali Seyf Mukbil [name as published], chairman of the Federation of Yemeni Trade Unions of the Arab Republic of Yemen. In a friendly talk they briefed each other on the topical tasks of the two trade union organizations and appraised the possibilities of further developing cooperation. The URO chairman expressed the trade unions' solidarity with the just fight of the Arab people against world imperialism, Zionism, and reaction. A.S. Mukbil expressed thanks for the assistance and support being granted by the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement (ROH) to the working people and trade unions of the Arab countries in their effort to consolidate the action unity of all progressive forces, and to achieve full political and economic independence and democracy. The two representatives then exchanged views on topical issues of the international trade union movement in the fight for the working people's rights, for social progress and world peace. [Text] [Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 27 Nov 85 p 2] /9365

INDUSTRY DELEGATION TO IRAN--Tehran, Dec 6 IRNA--Czechoslovak industry minister, Pavol Bahyl [position as received], at the head of an economic delegation arrived here Friday and was received by Iran's minister of heavy industries, Behzad Nabavi, at Mehrabad International Airport. The Czech delegation is to study technological and industrial cooperation with Iran during its stay here. The Czech delegation is to study technological and industrial cooperation with Iran during its stay here. On the objective of the visit, Behzad Nabavi said that the visit is in response to a visit of an Iranian delegation at Prague last year during which the two countries signed an industrial protocol. He added that ways for better exploitation of industrial units such as Arak Machine Manufacturing Company and Tabriz Industrial Research Center for Heavy Industries will be discussed with the Czech delegation here. Nabavi further said that volume of trade between Iran and Czechoslovakia was dollars 180 million in 1985. Bahyl said the Czech delegation was here to follow up the protocol signed between the two countries as well as to review expansion of mutual cooperation between Tehran and Prague. [Text] [Tehran IRNA in English 1356 GMT 6 Dec 85] /9365

CSO: 2020/45

## GOVERNMENT, CHURCH PEACE DOCTRINES CONTRASTED

Stockholm NY DAG in Swedish 30 Oct 85 pp 12-13

[Article by Ingrid Rasch: "Peace Teaching in GDR at Odds With the School"]

> [Text] Last spring the West German magazine DIE ZEIT published a full-page article with the headline "Leben und Bleiben in der DDR," [Living and Staying in the GDR.] It was written by East German theologian Joachim Garstecki, one of those responsible for the position of the Protestant Church on peace issues.
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> The article brought up a subject, which ever since the spring of 1984 had touched and stirred up many GDR citizens in daily life, namely the reactions to the major exodus wave to the West during 1984 in connection with a temporary easing of exit permits.

Garstecki is of the opinion that the disappointment and bitterness which is felt by many people in the GDR when they learn that relatives and friends are about to leave them and the reality of the GDR, has to be transformable into constructive reflection, into a thought-out answer to the question: Well, but why do I choose to remain in the GDR? Is there any room or opportunities to expand the framework for a meaningful life in the GDR, which my friends who have left for the West have disregarded? Does your situation in life depend more on how you yourself act vis-a-vis the society you live in than on the so-called conditions?

### Adjustment--Opposition

Toward the end of the article Garstecki gives the discussion a more generally applicable existential meaning. The choice is not between total acceptance of or complete withdrawal from the state which is present everywhere in the DGR existence, he writes. It is possible to find a balance between social and personal life, but one thing is certain, it is only possible if one remains and does not escape.

Does not the same thing apply to people in the West, Garstecki wonders, if the ever-present state is replaced by the ever-present commercialism? It cannot

be necessary to distance oneself from the society one lives in just because one dislikes certain, or even many, sides of it. A better alternative is to find something which it is possible to identify with and then, based on such a positive platform, work for change. There is a constant and necessary balance between adjustment and opposition in every social system, Garstecki seems to mean. Above all, the article puts into concrete form the manner in which the church intervenes and influences the development in the country.

When I continue to talk about the church, by that I mean exclusively the Protestant one. It includes perhaps seven million people, many of them young people drawn to the church because there is room for conversations which cannot be carried out in public anywhere else. This refers especially to issues of peace and disarmament.

Respect

I meet Garstecki at the very end of an immense system of gray-yellow corridors at the premises of the Protestant Church on August Street in East Berlin.

The large peace movement of the eighties in the West has primarily developed from the fear of nuclear war. In the East the emphasis is not quite as one-sidedly on nuclear armament, although it does affect people very strongly, I learn.

"When you live in a city like Berlin, in the border region between the two social systems, you realize daily how absurd and dangerous the thought of creating national security at the expense of one another is," Gerstecki says.

"But we do not just want to be critical. We also want to help form new security policy alternatives. We support the report of the Palme Commission regarding joint security, both the philosophy behind it and the concrete proposal for a nuclear-free corridor in Central Europe. Together with "Action Suehnezeichen," [Action Atonement Token], which is a Christian peace organization acting in both German states, we have worked out a small publication which we call "Sicherheitspartnerschaft und Frieden in Europa" [Security Partnership and Peace in Europe]. It is founded on the ideas of the Palme Commission and stresses the special responsibilities and opportunities of the two German nations. Here in our country we often use a different terminology. We speak of peaceful coexistence, a concept used by Lenin, but we given it approximately the same security-political meaning as the concept joint security."

"Did the church do any to prevent the deployment of new nuclear weapons in the GDR?" I ask.

"Certainly, we wrote to the government and asked it not to meet the Soviet demands for deployment. We cannot see that it is necessary to turn the armament spiral yet another turn just because NATO stations Pershing II's in the FRG. And I must say that the government did not welcome the new nuclear weapons with any enthusiasm."

"In what way can the peace movements in the East and West cooperate?"

Garstecki turns pensive. He says that he dislikes the superior meddlesomeness which is revealed in the West European's habit of asking the East European: What can I do for you?

"Let us once in a while turn the matter around and ask the opposite. Thus, to begin with we must learn to respect each other and our different methods of working."

"But whatever you do, don't legitimize the peace work in the West by emphasizing your contacts with church peace groups in the East," he says with marked decisiveness. There are many in the West who are interested in creating false images of us and our peace work. Either they want to make us dissidents and use us as weapons to combat socialism or else they change us into an extension of the long arm of the state and reject everything we have to say as uninteresting. We are neither. We try to find possible ways to contribute to peace and disarmament in the society we live in and want to live in.

Peace Education

The church devotes much time to attempts to alter the evaluations and the logic which leads to the doctrine of deterrence, that is to say the balance of terror.

It regards it as its special task to create counterbalances to the psychological preparation for war which takes diffent form in the GDR, all the way from increasingly frequent defense exercises to more systematically undertaken teaching of defense knowledge in school. In 1978 the subject Wehrkunde [Defense Knowledge] was introduced as a special and obligatory subject for the ninth grade.

For 15 years the church has been conducting its own peace teaching in voluntary children's and youth groups. It is difficult, since the church's view of the substance of peace education in many respects is contrary to that of the school. The school regards it as its duty to instill love of the fatherland and socialism in the children. If these values are threatened, it must be possible to defend them. Consequently, the peace must be armed and all citizens, including the children, must become aware of this. In preschool the children are allowed to play with war toys, which was not permitted until the late 1970's.

To the church the central message is love of one's neighbor, including the "enemy," which is why attempts are made to teach the children to resolve conflicts without violence, to respect the ways of thinking of others, to behave critically toward militarism and armament, to conquer the xenophobia. It is also trying to put a halt to the manufacture and sale of war toys.

11949
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HUNGARY

## NOMINATION MEETINGS SEEN AS CRUX OF 1985 ELECTION PROCESS

Budapest PARTELET in Hungarian Nos 8-9, 1985 pp 13-17

[Article by Erno Lakatos, head of the Agitation and Propaganda Division of the Central Committee]

[Text] In June the people of our country elected the new Parliament and the members of the councils. This important event in our public life took place under conditions differing in many aspects from those of earlier elections. The population went to the polls under a more difficult and more complicated internal situation, which placed greater emphasis on the harmony expressed in this civic activity. The importance of the elections was further increased by the fact that by applying the electoral law, as amended in 1983, we took one more step toward widening the scope of socialist democracy: mandatory multiple nomination allowed the citizenry to express more concretely and more forcefully their opinions regarding our politics as well as the representation and representatives of our politics.

We are justified, therefore, in stating that these successful elections were, in the strictest sense of the word, tantamount to a plebiscite, they meant that the population--taking advantage of the widest ranging democratic possibilities--said yes to the politics of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and to the program of the Patriotic People's Front as outlined in the election notices. It is, nevertheless, this very fact: the greater political value of elections held under the new conditions, which compels us to evaluate carefully the experiences gained in the course of our work around election politics, to draw from them the most important lessons. The reason for this is not only that we went to the polls for the first time under the amended electoral law and the next time we will have to utilize the experiences gained, but also that in the course of discussions, in which millions of people participated, many questions, comments and proposals of public interest came to the surface and we must not relegate them to oblivion. It behooves the elected representatives of the people as well as the party organizations to work toward a realization of the accepted proposals. Of no lesser importance, however, is that we must learn from the successes as well as from the failures and create even better conditions for the further development of socialist democracy, for the expression of the will of the people and, in the final analysis, for the strengthening of political unity in the service of common goals.

Political preparation was an important aspect of our work in the elections, especially the concrete formulation of the national and local election platforms, and their introduction to and discussion with the citizenry. The nominating conventions, the meetings of the nominees with their constituents, the "strata caucuses" and, especially, the nationally broadest electoral congresses afforded us the opportunity to discuss our political aims in front of the electorate. Mass communication media such as television, radio and the press-true to their proper purpose--made their contributions by not only reporting the events, but by taking an active role in shaping the lively interchange of political thoughts and views, taking in the entire country and emerging with new vigor in connection with the elections. In most instances we could discern a tendency of getting concretely and responsibly involved, in a manner similar to accounts rendered by representatives and council members, in the developmental planning of towns and districts and in the problems of the local population's living conditions and their provision. What is more, we can report that at the nominating conventions interest centered mostly on local affairs which, to a certain extent, was natural, since the gatherings are, above all, forums of the local communities. The greatest difficulty was the result of the fact--and this represented a shortcoming of the political work--that the raporteurs of the nominating conventions, the party members present and people's front activists were not always able to find a way to point out convincingly the connections between the growth of the hometown and the country's potentials, between the everyday joys and sorrows of a smaller community and national politics. We were able to create a nationwide mood of active political interest so necessary at election times, but the level of concrete political debate left much to be desired, the expounding of national political questions often bogged down in generalities and in many cases the consideration of local problems turned into a discussion of everyday trivia. This, too, showed up the shortcomings of our political mass agitation, to which we must pay more attention.

The modified election process was the subject of considerable national debate at the time the bill was drafted, but especially at the period preparatory to the elections. We were able to make it clear in these debates that the purpose of the modification was to make the elections more democratic, to offer the citizenry an opportunity to express their opinions concretely and to send into state government and people's representative bodies persons most worthy of the citizen's confidence.

The majority of the citizens recognized the advantage of double and multiple nomination. Discussions arose mostly with respect to candidate selection and concerns about the Patriotic People's Front's proposals. This seemed to indicate that the citizenry was ready to take full advantage of the opportunities the elections afforded, that they insisted on the most democratic completion of every essential detail of the elections, that the reasons for the nominations be presented to them clearly and convincingly, and that the wishes of the people be recognized and respected. But we have also learned that in the future we must select the nominees with greater care, investigate their qualifications and abilities more thoroughly and give them wider exposure, thus attaining among the elected a greater proportion of women, young people and laborers than heretofore.

After a less than unanimous reception, the introduction of the nationwide ballot, in essence, was received favorably by the public, since it symbolizes national unity and the solidarity of society's various forces. On the other hand, the ballot's composition caused arguments; many would have welcomed different names on the list of national nominees. It seems that we should have talked more about the national ballot in the course of our propaganda. The younger generations, to be sure--and they form the majority of the voters--do not know our confederates who stood by us in earlier political struggles and who wound up on the national ballot. We must continue paying attention in our political efforts to the character and function of this important new feature of our election process.

The one aspect of the political work in the elections most rewarding and most educational, was the way the nominations were accomplished. The persons responsible for organization, the organizations participating in the election process and the party members considered it important to assure all nominees-regardless of their employment situation--of equal conditions. The nominees espoused the program of the Patriotic People's Front and had an equal right to establish contact with their constituents, impart to them their concepts and gain the citizens' acceptance. However, this did not mean that the nominees' chances, too, were equal, as there were among them persons of note as well as dark horses, some well qualified for political representation, others even better, and many other characteristics differentiated them as well. It would have been wrong--under the heading of equalization of chances--to suppress these differences, to neutralize them by trying to squeeze the nominees' roles into a uniform mold, as the very purpose of the elections was to give the citizenry an opportunity to elect representatives and council members they find best suited for the job based on personality and abilities.

It was, of course, no easy task to find the proper dividing line between creating equal conditions and fostering manifestations of personality differences. It happened that in some locations, with reference to the "no-electioneering" rule, nominees were discouraged from behaving in any but a subdued, impersonal manner, while in other places competition and the initiation of individual actions was encouraged. But it also happened that the nominee, himself, sought refuge behind the protective shield of impersonality, trusting the authority implied in the official nomination, refusing to accept the greater risks of uttering personal thoughts and opinions. Or quite to the contrary: in a few instances individualism and irresponsible personality cult diverted attention from more essential problems, real possibilities and ideas.

Basically it was, after all, not this series of phenomena that caused the sometimes striking contradictions, but the fact that preparations for the nominations, in many locations, did not offer sufficient opportunity to present in a more complete, more authentic fashion the nominees' entire personality, background and fitness. This is also an important theoretical problem, because while making several personal appearances means more and, in general, is a more valuable form of behavior than impersonal conduct cloaked in the garb of official authority, it can, in itself, not offer an adequate basis or sufficient guaranty for optimal elections. Guaranty means putting on

the scale the nominees' total life-work.(*note from typist: in the draft the words total life-work were underlined-JPRS guidelines say no underlining so I did not underline for that reason) Socialist democracy and within it, the further evolution of the election process, too, forms part and parcel of this theory: on the one hand, we have good reason to try to avoid the superficial, manipulative traits of the bourgeois democratic election process, and on the other hand we would also like--partly because of the very results of the elections--for our councils to become harder working bodies, where results are continuously obtained not by spectacular oratory, but by concerted work, studed with fruitful debates.

One of the most important lessons we learned from the nomination process was that it was in the latter where our political work really paid off, where the greatest harmony developed, where they discerned the new situation resulting from multiple nomination, and prepared the best possible conditions for a democratic decision and realistic elections. An essential element of this was the creation of wide ranging publicity. I could mention many instances where the personal appearance of the nominee was considered just one of the options, and they used many other ways and means (local press, election news, brochures, cable television, personal contact with the voters, etc.) to offer the public the best endorsement of the individual starters' credibility: acquainting the voting citizens with the nominees' past accomplishments from every possible angle. At the same time, in some parts of the party organizations, they failed to realize sufficiently to what extent--over and above the publicity aspect--the objectivity of the election results is influenced by the opinions of the political organs. Especially in the case of nominees who had distinguished themselves in earlier struggles and in the efforts of past decades, could the party organs' and party organizations' supportive stance carry considerable weight. Most of them--quite understandably--would have considered it inappropriate and pretentious to personally enumerate in front of the voters the positive aspects of their past activities. Because an incomplete or not quite adequate evaluation of the situation and because of deficiencies in preparation, many party organizations failed to take a stand. Our political work, from this point of view at least, has not been able to contribute to the creation of truly equal opportunitites and to as objective electoral decisions as possible.

In our work around the new election process the difficulties stemmed not only from increased requirements in preparation, but also from the unaccustomed new situation and old idiosyncrasies. In several locations the activities and personal aspirations of persons in the higher echelons of officialdom and of those in the higher echelons of officialdom and of those in prestigious positions (whose activities are rated by national or county authorities,) were not offered to public scrutiny and were not submitted to public debate. But in this case, too, restraint and hesitation were unjustified. Participants in the nominating meetings, in determining the nominees' suitability, were setting actually higher standards than in the past. However, the representatives nominees coming from the ranks of public figures, officials of party and mass organizations and county leaders who, by their work, deportment and life style, merited the recognition of those around them, were, with few exceptions, elected. Characteristically, of 1151 town, city and municipal district council presidents only 51 town council presidents and

two city council presidents failed to get elected to council membership. At the same time, we must draw the lesson from several cases: it is not enough for people in public office to embrace, with the best of intentions, our political aspirations, it is equally important that they suitably adapt their methods and style to our democratic conditions.

In a small proportion of the representatives' electoral districts they tried to have persons nominated who, in important matters, represent positions diametrically opposed to our ideals and politics. This, in some locations, occasioned antipathy toward the so-called spontaneous nominations. However, it would be definitely wrong if we were to start out from this point of view in considering the citizens' option to select nominees at the nominating meeting on the spot, as every one of the "final" nominees agreed upon is devoted to our social system and many of them are party members. The so-called opposition-mimicking manifestations found no support among the people, they were everywhere combatted by political means, thus none of them got to be nominated. However, we also found out that some of our activists were unprepared to engage in political debates with them and to unmask their true intentions. Thus in our efforts to convince their few misled young sympathizers, we failed to achieve the desired results. Some of them could not understand why it was necessary to deal harshly with exponents of a small faction whose manifestations are apparently simply critical, but who, in reality, sharply oppose our social system. Persons in close cooperation with bourgeois propaganda organs, blindly at odds with our fatherland, must never ge given a role in Hungarian public life.

All of this taught us another lesson. The wider democratization of our election process enables us to perceive the population's opinions and their proposals regarding the persons they wish to send to Parliament and the councils. We have gained considerable skill already in discussing with the population plans for housing improvements at the rural, town and city levels. It is hoped that the favorable effects of the latter will find expression also in more active work on the part of the newly elected bodies representing the citizenry, (that is the representatives and council members) and in the strengthening of their ties to their electors. The state governing organs can justifiably count on the representatives and council members to evaluate their duties and responsibilities meritoriously and critically, to show more initiative, to have more desire to settle public matters and to emphasize in their work a tendency toward asserting local interests as well. However, a keeping in touch with the citizenry and a dialogue can only become more up to date and commensurate with existing requirements if the economic, social and socio-political problems of the rural areas become better supplemented by personal contacts. In the same way as we are already capable of assessing, appreciating and, what is more--categorizing and explaining the various interests--of molding public opinion in connection with the real conditions and material matters of the place of residence, we must also be able to find a more continuous way to study and handle the public's opinions, views and initiatives with reference to personalities. This obviously transcends the writing of regular representatives' and council members' reports and is a rather difficult and sometimes ticklish task. Nevertheless, it is more practical and easier to face that task than to rely solely on the chance that in the course of the few months of the election preparations the voters might,

in any event, give vent to their feelings and might make more or less well informed personality choices.

The situation, too, is more favorable to this than in the past because in the course of the elections it has been proved: it is not alien to socialist public life to give publicity to personal aspirations, to give room to personal character traits, virtues and abilities. The electoral contests did not conflict with our principles, they were not conducted underhandedly in any place, none of the nominees was publicized to the detriment of others. In most cases the voters supported by word and by note the candidate who, by his past life style, work and comportment was able to project the well founded hope that he will be the best person to represent his voters' interests and to take an active part in shaping the country's, the county's, the city's and the village's future. We should not worry either that--as it became obvious throughout the elections--a more pronounced activity on the part of the citizenry might bring with it more frequent disagreements and hotter debates. This is a direct consequence of the fact that our citizens have been afforded greater opportunity to cast their vote, and--by means of alternative personal choices also--to get involved in the shaping of local as well as national politics. At the same time, we must also take into consideration that more debating practice and more persuasive argumentation is needed for the settlement of disputes and the reaching of mutual agreements.

Practically all lessons learned in the course of our work around election politics is connected with the new and greater possibilities and higher requirements of the modified election process. It goes without saying that we have not been able, so far, to exhaust all our possibilities and we have not yet completely complied with all the requirements. Time is needed for the new methods to become entrenched and we must also bring into sharper focus some of the details of the election process. Even so, the election campaign that lasted almost two months, ended successfully in a good political atmosphere. The events bore out the aspirations of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, namely that it is possible and even necessary to take further steps in the direction of fomenting social democracy, and necessary and possible, upholding our principles, to enrich our political experience with more and more new elements.

12929/12759
CSO: 2500/60

## MILITARY SERVICE PRECEDING HIGHER EDUCATION DESCRIBED

Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 1 Nov 85 p 5

[Article by Istvan Illes: "Pre-Admission Servicemen"]

[Text] It has been almost 10 years since the Hungarian Army terminated the so-called pre-admission units in which prospective university students served. The "boys of Kalocsa" have been assigned among the enlisted men serving in various outfits of the country. At first the university students spoke about many unpleasant experiences when they were discharged. Has the picture changed since then? To find out we went to an artillery outfit in the area between the Danube and the Tisza.

"It was not a dream to be a "tapos." They pumped us as much as they could. We swept and scrubbed so much that we thought we had joined some cleaning enterprise and not the army," says Bela Kaslik, soldier, who is a pre-admission student at the Karoly Marx University of Economic Science. "I am lucky that this is all past now. They assigned me from Transdanubia, and here I find no trace of prejudice. They hated us because we entered together with our colleagues and were discharged a half year earlier than the others. But in fact we have to make up these six months later on. But our slighter physical build also was cause for derision, and therefore it was not by accident that they stuck on us the name 'tapos' [down trodden]."

Gabor Pillman and Zoltan Bagi, soldiers, are still filled with consternation when they hear such accounts from their colleagues, although they certainly heard them before. After discharge the two of them-like most of the pre-admission soldiers at the unit--will become students at the Budapest University of Horticulture. The others were out on agricultural work and we did not meet them.

"We joined our unit at the end of August, but from the very first day they treated us like the others. They did not make fun of us because of our pre-admission," they said supplementing each other's remarks. "We were given time and handouts for our orientation. During our basic training period we had two consultations also with lecturers who came from the University. In the near future a course will start in computer operation and in English and German grammar. There is also opportunity for sports. I go in for athletics, and the swimmers are now at a competition."

"It is too good to be true...Are there no problems?"

"There are. For example, there is hardly any hot water in our barracks, and even the cold comes only in a trickle at the most," said Zoltan Bagi. According to the others, this sitaution is exceptional for there is water everywhere, if not for hours as at home, and one can bathe and wash up. The immediate commanders of the enlisted men, some training commanders--officers and non-commissioned officers--complain of vulgar language. "It seems some do not know anything but dirty words. This used to wear us down, but slowly the ear becomes hardened to it, but to get used to it..."

I also inquired about the youth work at the units. Bela Kaslik, who was the KISZ [Hungarian Communist Youth League] secretary, was satisfied: "More than 80 percent of the pre-admission servicemen are KISZ members. Most of them have already joined the movement here, and some have been considered as leadership members for the newly organized basic organizations. Actual KISZ activities will begin with the completion of agricultural work. I believe that because of the heterogenous composition the biggest task will be the development of the program."

We discussed the situation of the pre-admission servicemen with Colonel Dezso Bistyak, unit commander, with Major Bela Grof, political deputy, and with Lieutenant Karoly Ecseri, secretary of the KISZ committee. According to them it was the correct move to terminate the separation of the pre-admission servicemen. The commander replied as follows to my objections:

"Problems must everywhere be solved on site and at the unit. We respect the goals of the youth to become engineers, teachers and agronomists. But this--whether you like it or not--has its place: they must be soldiers, and here, for example, they must learn how to handle ordnance. But we want to teach the accompanying military tasks and not force it. We are not always successful in this despite our intentions. And therefore pedagogical instruction has been emphasized in the military schools. The young officers are already familiar with servicemen language. But problems arise with the non-commissioned officers and officers. They are outstanding primarily in their field of experties, but are less well trained in methods."

"In our experience the major source of conflict is in the fact that everyone must be excellent here in the fulfillment of military tasks for which a sergeant is the "professor" even if his style is inelegant. It is the pre-admission servicemen for the most part who take this hard because their training and knowledge is at least of the same level as that of the trainer, and often higher, but in a different area. In this the commander may prevent many conflicts."

The unit leaders also said that it is not always the fault of the army that the pre-admission servicemen do not have the opportunity to begin progressive preparation for their studies. For many years, for example, it was not possible to arrange for personnel from the Gyula Juhasz Teacher Training College to come and hold consultations with the pre-admission servicemen. The consultants at institutions of higher education are mostly reluctant to visit

the units on Saturdays and Sundays when the soldiers have free time. On the other hand, we have had a cooperative contract for years with the Budapest Univeristy of Horticulture. Many former pre-admission soldiers, who are now students, return to the unit to help prepare the young servicemen for their studies. This is the way to go, but both sides should finally move in this direction.

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CSO: 2500/52

FINANCIAL PROBLEMS OF HIGHER EDUCATION

Budapest FIGYELO in Hungarian 24 Oct 85 pp 1, 6

[Article by Katalin Forgacs: "In Search of Sponsors"]

> [Text] At some of the more notable universities some educators work evenings in the teaching cooperative. One such teacher was surprised to see a few of his day students attending his lecture. Evening classes are expensive, so he asked the schoolboys why they would pay for classes that were free during the day. The students replied without mincing words that the honored teacher gave substantially better lectures for adequate compensation.

However, it is worth considering what happens to the majority of the students, who do not have the financial means for extra lessons. At the same time, the teachers' point of view is also understandable: no sense explaining...

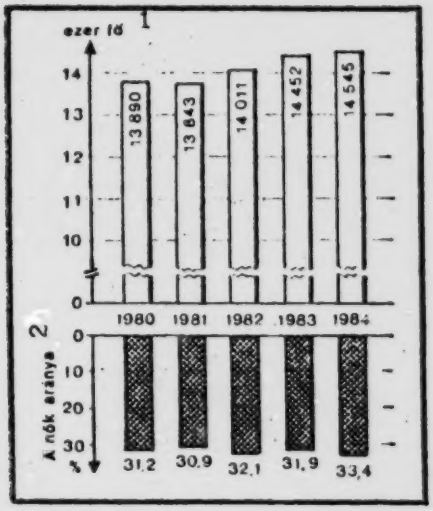
Quality Control for Educators

In the early 1970's Zsuzsa Ferge wrote in VALOSAG TRUTH: "Society's present appraisal of the teaching profession has drifted into error. The relatively low salary level in the profession draws talent away...there are many fair to weak talents...a further error is the public opinion--partly generalized from the performance of a few poor examples...which holds that teachers really do not deserve much more compensation. This further reduces the attractiveness of the profession, thus talented individuals further avoid it..."

Since then the situation has not significantly improved, even though 14,000 educators draw their salaries from higher education. Since 1980, the number of educators at the university level has grown by only 200. (The proportion of women among these educators is approximately one-third.

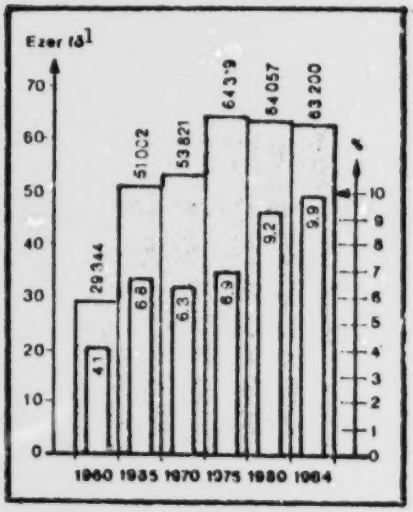
Of the 14,000 educators, only 4 percent are part-time or substitute teachers, the rest are full-time. Two-thirds of these are supervised by the Ministry of Cultural Affairs, and their interests are protected by that ministry's Teachers' Union. Over 4,600 educators work under the supervision of other

Figure 1. The number of university-level educators.




KEY: (1) Thousands of individuals
(2) Proportion of women

Figure 2. The number of university day students and their proportion to the 18-22 age group at large.




KEY: (1) Thousands of individuals

higher authorities, and belong to other appropriate trade unions. (The School of Physical Education is the exception, which also belongs to the Teachers' Union.) At the member institutions of the Ministry of Cultural Affairs, the educators' average salary was 6,490 forints monthly (from ministry statistics). The member institutions of the medical, agricultural, and other ministries do not demonstrate obvious differences in wage structure. It is not surprising, then, that the majority of educators are forced to seek extra employment.

In Pursuit of Extra Money

Csaba Csaki, dean of the Karl Marx School of Economics, said recently for this publication: "The lack of energy and time is evident not only in research and academic publication, but also in the development of course materials so necessary for teaching work. These days the honorarium for writing notes is barely more than the typing fee (FIGYELO No 38, 1985).

In this statement the dean also indicated an interesting and perhaps promising solution. "I am not afraid to say that we are counting on supporters, or, if you please, sponsors who are not indifferent to the quality of future education at our universities."

Yes, but are there and will there be such individuals who feel a responsibility for the intellectual level of future years? This is the key question in any discussion of the quality of educational institutions.

At one time, not very long ago, such a de facto sponsorship system existed, even if it was not so titled. For example, the School of Finance and Public Accountancy was previously bound by much stronger ties to the Ministry of Finance. The Ministry of Foreign Trade supported the School of Foreign Trade in recognition of the strength provided by a well-trained new generation of professionals. Then this system ended, swallowed in part by a reorganization of educational-cultural policy (cf, "Commercial Educators" on p 6). Perhaps we should return to this solution, at least in cases where there is a clearly defined authority and a branch of enterprise for which quality higher education and an unbroken supply of professionals is a primary concern. Naturally, teachers salaries are not the only subject; sponsors are desperately needed to renew the universities' supply of tools and equipment as well.

Who Is Concerned?

The cost of education rises constantly, central funding is ill-equipped to cope with the rise. Information obtained from the Ministry of Finance shows that the Technical University of Budapest, for example, has been forced to allocate some of its own income for building maintenance, despite the fact that this is classically a subsidized expense.

Our theory--that the cost of teaching rises and funding cannot match it--could be demonstrated economically if we could itemize the cost of teaching one student 10, 5 years ago and today, and what portion of that cost was and is subsidized.

Table 1. University funding in 1980 and 1984 (in million forints)

| Source | 1980 | | 1984 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Amount | Wages only | Amount | Wages only |
| Ministry of Cultural Affairs | 2653.9 | 1152.1 | 3375.0 | 1518.7 |
| Ministry of Agriculture and Food Industry | 720.0 | 249.1 | 874.3 | 366.0 |
| Ministry of Health | 493.8 | 193.1 | 596.5 | 238.6 |
| National Office for Sports and Physical Education | 27.0 | 12.7 | 40.1 | 18.9 |
| Ministry of Commerce | 35.0 | 13.8 | 43.9 | 17.6 |
| Council of Ministers | 26.6 | 9.9 | 51.3 | 19.5 |
| Totals | 3956.3 | 1630.7 | 4981.1 | 2119.3 |

Table 2. Projected figures for the higher education institutions under the Ministry of Cultural Affairs, 1985 (in million forints)

| Source | Income | | Funding Support | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Total | From non-budgeted contractural work | Total | For Research |
| Scientific universities | 223.2 | 135.2 | 1104.5 | 70.1 |
| Technical colleges and universities | 1054.6 | 877.6 | 1605.0 | 111.8 |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Economics academies | 52.1 | 25.7 | 280.7 | 6.8 |
| Educational academies | 111.2 | 0.4 | 860.6 | 2.0 |
| Fine Arts Academies | 12.9 | 2.6 | 208.9 | 0.6 |
| Totals | 1454.0 | 1041.5 | 4059.7 | 191.3 |

However, since 1980 fundamental changes have been made in the management and information systems of the funding, grants, and income from non-budgeted work. Using the Ministry of Finance report, it is impossible to calculate contract work completed by higher education institutions alone. In similar fashion, no statistics on grants are given under the 1980 reporting system; however, the 1984 report shows not only the amount given the universities, but also a breakdown by profession.

These statistics on the institutions' income, contract work and financial support were available only from institutions associated with the Ministry of Cultural Affairs.

Recently, financial support to research has been granted only for basic research projects. The grants are awarded on a competitive basis through the Ministry of Cultural Affairs and the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, but they are earmarked mainly for hiring outside consultants and buying research tools; thus very little income for full-time teachers comes from these grants. In this context, the directive of the Ministry of Cultural Affairs, which allows only 10 percent of the taxable income of Teachers' Unions to go into the revenue fund, should at least be questioned.

Idea Worth Pursuing

Outside sponsors should therefore be involved in education.

This theory is supported by the experience of numerous universities. The agrarian universities and colleges have belonged to the Ministry of Agriculture and Food Industry since the beginning. The domestic trade sector is a patron of the Academy of Commerce and Hotel Industry, known to benefit out domestic hotel and restaurant trade. And finally, something similar is developing at the Technical University of Budapest.

In electronics and machine industry, modernization of education and the training of an engineering leadership stratum has been incorporated into the joint engineering development program of the Ministry of Industry, the National Technical Development Committee, and industrial enterprises. This task has been emphasized in the overall educational budget.

It has been recognized that these investments are not only effective, but also many times more important than the purchasing of new producing equipment which then must be serviced by these people.

What are the facts? One is the highly significant research and education association agreement--signed in December 1982--concerning domestic data

and telecommunications development. This National Technical Development Committee initiated this contract (cf. "First Arrivals").

Welcome news also comes from another branch of the Technical University of Budapest, the Mechanical Engineering faculty (cf. also "First Arrivals). Part of the National Medium Range Research Development Plan, the G-6 program, contains independent paragraphs concerning educational development. Stated in overly simplified manner, this means that a fraction of this multi-million-forint program, funded in part by business sources, will go in the form of salary into the pockets of the educators participating in the program.

Some similar solutions should be attempted in other areas: involving in higher education the business sources whose primary interest is the "maintenance" of a given field. Even the statistics show that the engineering colleges and universities were the first to draw upon outside resources: in 1985 their funding amounts to 1.6 billion forints, supplemented by their own income in excess of 1 billion. The self-funding at scientific universities is relatively insignificant, yet higher proportions as for the engineering schools cannot be considered, since science faculties are almost exclusively involved in basic research.

A new technological age is only conceivable if the new knowledge is taught at the highest level. It seems that at engineering schools and at some of the associated industrial enterprises this attitude is gaining ground, even if the deans we visited, very realistically, were not dreaming of some Silicon Valley in the vicinity of Stoczek Street. However, raising the competency level of the faculty is their decided goal. If only their example would be followed elsewhere as well!

"First Arrivals"

Within the framework of the Educational Research Association government authorities and business enterprises have joined to support data and telecommunications research and education in the mechanical engineering department of the Technical University of Budapest.

Among the signers of the agreement and the members of the educational and research association are 8 industrial enterprises and cooperatives and 3 research institutions. The association began in January 1985 with 55 million forints, the sum contributed by the sponsors.

Of this sum, 28 million is allocated for expansion of the research laboratory space available to the university's departments to nearly double the present size. (This consists mainly of additional floors built on the Stoczek Street building of the Technical University of Budapest.) In these so-called project laboratories students will have practice workspace. The remaining 27 million will be spent on needed tools and equipment. This is important since effective engineering training in the electrical engineering department is hardly possible without early exposure, approximately in the students' fourth semester, to the practices of their field and the equipment which defines

their work. The present capacity allows only the most exceptional and active students in every class to work on this equipment. However, if more students had access to the appropriate infrastructure, says the department chairman with conviction, significant creative energy could be released. At the same time, the project laboratory's increased capacity will allow the department's employees to do industrial research and industrial contract projects.

This is also a lifeline to educational activities. For instance, the financial resources of the university's Telecommunications Electronics Institute are divided according to the following approximate proportions:

Table 3. Forms of financing

| Source | Forms | Goals |
|---|---|---|
| Ministry of Cultural Affairs | Guarantees the institution's basic budget, building maintenance and salary fund. Additionally in the past 3 years has contributed nearly 1 million forints annually for investments | Basic education |
| Hungarian Academy of Sciences | 5-year contracts, nearly 3 million forints annually for the past 3 years. Salaries the academic group | Basic research |
| National Technical Development Committee, industry, branches of the Postal Service | Research agreements and production contracts with industry, nearly 30 million forints over the past 3 years | Important research topics for industry |
| Postal Service, Ministry of Industry, National Technical Development Committee, industry | Educational-research association agreement (55 million forints for next 5 years) | New project laboratory |

As these statistics demonstrate, next to the funding from the Ministry of Cultural Affairs, the outside sources are of primary importance (As an aside: The most prestigious universities of the world depend at least in part on the tuition they charge. Our educators do exactly this when they teach paid classes for cash: they are the university system "helping itself" in this difficult economic situation.)

The increasingly close connection between education and industry is demonstrated in certain points of the agreements. "The members of the Association may make such recommendations in the Directorate to the Dean of the Electrical Engineering Department as pertain to the education and continuing education of engineers and the development of methods of adjusting

such education to short, medium, and long range programs and to monitoring their effectiveness..."

"The member enterprises (institutions, establishments) of the Association can rely on the educational and research activity of the Technical University of Budapest--Telecommunications Electronics Institute and the Technical University of Budapest--MRT [Hungarian Radio and Television Enterprise, for medium and long range research applications of data and telecommunications in areas that are workable within the unique personnel and equipment restrictions of the aforementioned 2 divisions of the university that are in agreement with the university's academic activity and require no resources which cannot be secured."

Welcome developments can also be reported from the machine building chair of the Technical University of Budapest mechanical engineering faculty. Part of the National Medium Range Research Development Plan is a program which embraces the entire machine industry in "R and D tasks for development and production of electronic tools in manufacturing automation and precision mechanics." (The program is more commonly known as the "G-6" program.)

The program's main objective is to bring precision machine production to new, qualitatively different, higher levels of precision. Submicrotechnology is the trade name for the production of those high-precision parts which is made possible by computerized engineering and automation and real-time measurement and control systems.

However, let us return to the more narrow subject. One important aspect of the G-6 program is its separate educational development section. This is comparable to the G-1 goal program, involving electronification, which applies to our previous example. Thus we return to the abovementioned machine building chair and a few other university establishments. The budget of the entire program is estimated at 6.5 billion forints. (Nearly one-half of this amount will come from business sources. Almost 800 million forints are projected for "educational tasks," 480 million of this in operating expenses, including salaries. Tools and equipment will be purchased with the remaining amount.

This is judged to be a timely measure, because the investment limitations of previous years have made the purchase of up-to-date equipment very difficult.

How does all this affect the educators? Insofar as they will achieve higher professional distinction in education through program-supported activity, they will receive additional income through their ability to undertake higher-level projects. This is ideal compared to the situation in which educators are compelled to tackle projects far outside their field of interest in order to obtain needed extra income. The dominant system of funding engineering universities in the past 5 years has not allocated central funds for so-called non-budgeted university activities. The individual authorities, in this case the National Technical Development Committee and the Ministry of Industry, would only "delve" into research projects if they were at least 50 percent business funded.

The machine industry research program being discussed basically also relies on business resources, since the entire program is realized through industrial competition for cooperative research projects. The significant difference compared to previous experience in that this program supports broad-reaching, future-oriented efforts.

9890/9435
CSO: 2500/48

HUNGARY

## 1986 LAW SHIFTING POWER BURDEN TO LOCAL COUNCILS QUESTIONED

Budapest FIGYELO in Hungarian 17 Oct 85 p 3

[Article by Gabor Peteri: "Council Regulation System: Needs Calculation or Standardization?"]

[Text] The new council regulation system that will take effect beginning next year is replacing the financing system that has been in effect for fifteen years with small modifications. The change was motivated by the fact that there have appeared new goals in the management of council development funds as well as changes in local administration. In recent times the councils' planning and decision-making process and support system have received much criticism. The problems have become especially acute since the rate of growth of funds available to the councils has slowed down.

According to views expressed in various professional forums, council administration should expand locally developed resources and, in addition to increasing the share of funds under local control, it should become possible for state subsidies to be used freely. A new attitude, and as a result the outlines of changed financing conditions, can be detected in the economic system of the next mid-range plan period. The uniform settlement-management fund, the increasing proportion of local income, and the cessation of central target subsidies are in equal measure possibilities for simplifying and decentralizing council management within the megyes [counties].

Besides this, perhaps the most important point about the council regulation system is that part of the development subsidies will be distributed in a standardized manner. The introduction of standardization will be a significant change, even though during the first years old relationships will perhaps break down. There has already been an example of this during the current mid-range planning, when the central planners recommended annual redistribution of standard subsidies to the counties while keeping the 5-year average.

Standardization in the new council regulation system means that part of the state subsidies will be given to megye councils without detailed measurement of the needs of the area, in proportion to their population. This "head quota" will then be divided among the local councils according to the needs of various "settlement categories," but similarly in a standardized way. In

order to judge the significance and probable role of this kind of standardized subsidy, it will be worthwhile to become acquainted more precisely with the system of state subsidies for the councils.

Appropriations and Surpluses

Before the new regulation was finalized, the councils made a double model computation in preparation for the 7th 5-Year Plan. From the results of this it can be seen that the proportion of central subsidies extended to council funds grew a little; they amount to 55 percent of the resources. (During the past 4 years this share averaged 42 percent). However, out of this amount of subsidy only 15 percent will be distributed on a standardized basis; distribution of the remaining operating, maintenance, and development subsidies will continue to be distributed according to former procedures without change.

Two-thirds of the state subsidies go to cover operating and maintenance expenses. These expenses are necessary mainly in order to keep council institutions running.

The standards applied in the planning process are rather technical methods of distribution and not uniformly calculated, freely expendable funds in the true meaning of that concept. In no phase of the distribution of subsidies for the operation of budgetary organizations is standardization applied in the sense in which "head-quota" subsidies appear in the new council-regulation system.

The role of standardized subsidies in development subsidies -- as opposed to operating expenses -- is already more important. According to calculations, 40 percent of the 5-year average expenses for all council development funds and half of those in local councils are made up of subsidies distributed in proportion to population. At the local level this is a very important change, especially if we also take into account the fact that for megye councils the proportion of target funds that can be competed for is only 20 percent, so that in principle the great majority is under their own control.

Some 40 percent of the local and megye development funds are distributed to the megye councils in the traditional manner. This sum provides for both megye investments and local target funds, so that in both functions its use is determined by the megye.

In the course of planning, this amount will be distributed to the megyes according to present practice on the basis of needs calculations. This method of distribution -- which formerly was the only form of planning for development resources -- raises numerous questions, and it is my opinion that it is also one of the fundamental problems of the present system of council subsidies.

162 Forms

Needs calculation in the practice of central planning has meant that development funds at the megye level have been determined on the basis of the needs" of the infrastructure of the area. It was a prolonged bargaining

process to compile the plans -- the 6th 5-Year Plan took more than 3 years to prepare -- as the viewpoints of the national economy (budget), the branches, and the councils had to be harmonized.

The system of needs calculation in the daily practice of council planning has required that each council fill out 162 planning and information forms according to the requirements of central planning -- often many times over -- in such detail that, for example, even the conditions for financing a playground were planned out. This practice of needs calculation gave useful information to central planning only in its first phase; later, decisions were made independently of it in the course of individual bargaining, and the forms only served for reconciliation of megye funds and goals. Because of the varied nature of the local goals, the system of forms containing data abstracted from them was similarly of no use at the megye level.

On the other hand, it is an indisputable advantage of the needs-calculation system that in the case of large investments that occur in only a few places (such as building a hospital) it permits individual evaluation. During the past two plan periods, state developmental contributions determined with needs calculations have shown a very similar ranking of the megyes. So it can be assumed that the requirements for subsidies recognized on the basis of needs have been modified by other viewpoints in the course of compiling the plan. Differing bargaining positions have resulted in the situation that megyes containing cities with megye status and industrial megyes have regularly been able to count on more development funds per-capita than Bekes, Tolna, or Szolnok megyes at the bottom of the list.

In Proportion to Population

On the basis of these unfavorable experiences, the implementation of a standardized principle of distribution in the council regulation system seems more important. And incidentally this kind of standardized distribution in Hungarian council practice is not unprecedented. In the regulation system before 1968, the state contribution to the development funds of municipalities was similarly determined on the basis of a standardized system. Even then, the council planning and management system, which was strongly connected with the departments, had room enough for implementation of a uniform principle of distribution. The standardized subsidy system, moreover, makes possible the achievement of central political and economic goals just as well as does the practice of directed subsidies. This can be achieved by changing the basic principle of distribution. So, for example, the councils formerly -- in the interest increasing their independence -- received their state subsidies in proportion to the receipts of their municipal development funds. Later, subsidies were tied to goals of collective-farm planning. (Settlements with a collective-farm center received twice as much as the national average). During the period of construction of the network of cities, since 1964, however, the amount of standardized subsidies has been determined by the national economic situation.

Today's distribution according to population starts from the premise that monetary demands of council tasks are tied to the number of inhabitants. Subsidies that continually follow population numbers will probably result in a

leveling, as every megye will share uniformly, in the same manner, in some of the central funds. This "uniformity" is actually only the first step toward equal distribution, as the population figure does not reflect exactly the real local needs. The make-up of the population, the relationships among its network of settlements, and existing provisions are all equally conditions that should be taken into account in the course of standardized distribution, for the real needs of the council for subsidies are determined by them.

A Freely Controlled Resource

Other countries also give state subsidies toward tasks of local governments responsible for some parts of the infrastructure. From the point of view of local independence, however, the amount and proportion of the central resources is not as critical as how the redistribution takes place. If state subsidies are distributed on the basis of objective standards, taking into account local characteristics, in such a way that their use is not tied to central goals, then they appear to the councils as a freely controlled resource.

However, this kind of subsidy system presupposes, among other things, use of some unambiguous and precisely quantifiable indicators to take into account differences in requirements according to branches and areas and also conciliation of the basic principles -- not the details -- of distribution. Practice of standardized subsidies according to this also changes the process of compiling a plan. Plan preparation can thus have more of a conceptual nature, less harmful to independence, and less open to bargaining based on subjective viewpoints. From all of this it follows that the present system of standardized distribution, extending to 15 percent of council subsidies and tied to a single indicator, can still be improved significantly.

Today's problems of subsidizing of budgetary expenses lead to basic questions of the council regulation system. For many people are inclined to look at the problems of council redistribution and independence in isolation, only on the basis of internal characteristics of the council economy, and to reduce the solutions to questions of the proportions of funds received or the council's rules for their distribution. At the same time, they overlook the fact that the various council tasks -- education, health services, land use, etc. --must be accomplished in accordance with the financial, operational, and organizational rules of the particular branch of the infrastructure. Thus, for example, the method of pricing characteristic of the branch, the apportionment of expenses to those who receive the income, and the nature of the providing organizations determine the possibilities of the council to manage as well. Consequently, the problems of the council regulation system depend partly on the individual branches of the infrastructure and ultimately on the functioning of the whole economy. Without a solution to the general economic, financing, and organizational problems of the central system of services, fundamental change in the internal relationships of council management cannot be expected.

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CSO: 2500/58

HUNGARY

T-72 TANK DESCRIBED, WITH ILLUSTRATION

Budapest IGAZ SZO in Hungarian Oct 85 pp 18-19

[Article by Major Laszlo Bombay, engineer: "The Pride of the T-Family"]

[Text] The Soviet tank manufacturing began to grow rapidly since the 1930s and the first member of the development was the T-24 built in 1930. After this placement into service of the T-26 light, the T-27 midget, the T-27, the T-38 midget swimming tank, then the T-28 medium and the T-35 heavy tanks followed one another. The T-34 was the model in the T-series which became world famous.

World War II pointed out the huge opportunities in using tanks and the development after the war further increased the role they fulfilled in modern military operations. The appearance of the nuclear and other mass annihilation weapons and the rapid growth of battle technology equipment also defined the growth of tanks. The following members of the T-series were built on the basis of these new principles: the T-54, the T-55 and also the T-62. The model T-72 made the standard in our days is a tank which points to the future, exceeds several times the battle value of its predecessors, and lives up to the requirements of the present as well as the future.

The most important battle characteristics of tanks are: a) fire power; b) armored protection (special protection), and c) mobility. Taking these three factors into consideration let us familiarize ourselves with the T-72.

Fire Power

The biggest difference between it and the previous models is that its fire power has been significantly increased. Its main weapon is the smooth-barrelled 125-mm diameter cannon with which the tank can overcome all armored targets within the targeted fire field. The bullet's muzzle velocity reaches 1,500 m/s and the bullet has high armor-piercing ability. At the same time the probability of hitting the target and target distance also increase. Bullet inventory consists of anti-personnel, under-gage armor piercing bullets and cumulative granades. The cumulative granades regardless of the distance of the target can also pierce armors corresponding to three to four times the thickness of their caliber.

The tank's personnel is 3 persons: driver, commander and bombardier. The fourth member of the traditional tank crew, the charge handler is not needed because the charge is served up by an automatic charge-handling equipment. The bullets are of the divided type, the shot and the shell meet each other only in the cannon barrel. The shell's mantle burns up during the firing, only the sole-part made of metal remains.

The accuracy of the cannon's fire is increased by horizontal and vertical stabilizers. These keep the cannon constantly in the given target direction. The bombardier as well as the commander can operate the targeting equipment which is also equipped with telemetry. Thus it has become possible for the commander to take over the firing and handle the targeting and fire activation. The tank can continue to do battle even in the event the bombardier is disabled. The cannon's firing speed is 8 shots per minute. Its firing range is 9,400 meters. In order to decrease firing gas pollution in the manned area a smoke removing device is installed on the cannon's barrel. The thermal insulation cover on the cannon's barrel decreases deformation caused by heat and thus increases the shot's accuracy.

The tank's weaponry also includes the 7.62 millimeter machinegun which is parallel with the cannon and the 12.7 millimeter aerial defense machinegun.

Armored (and Special) Protection

In modern warfare the tank's level of protection is determined by the total construction requirements of fire power and mobility. The smaller the tank's dimensions, the stronger its weapons and the more mobile it is, the better its survival chances are on the battlefield. In another sense the basis of its ability to survive is its reliable armor protection which protects not only from the increased destructive force of the armor piercing weapons but also from the effects of the mass destruction devices. The T-72 also maximally answers these requirements. The tank's armored body and turret can be hermetically sealed. The penetrating radiation generated by the use of nuclear weapons is decreased not only by the armor but also by the lining material located within the tank's armor. In a given case the tank must also operate over contaminated sections of the terrain.

Protection for the operating personnel from the radiological, chemical and bacteriological contamination is providing by the nuclear, biological and chemical protective equipment. Filtering and ventilation equipment provides clean air, and at the same time it also provides a positive pressure differential which prevents the radiological and other contamination from entering the tank. The protective sheets installed with hinges onto the armor body are also part of the protection. These protect the lower part of the armored body and the track against the cumulative-effect, armor piercing weapons.

Mobility

Besides the fire power and the armored protection, mobility is the tank's most important characteristic. This is characterized by the medium speed of the tank, its ability to operate on terrain and the distance it can cover

with one refill of its fuel system. Increased mobility required modernization of the engine, transmission and the track. All these requirements have been solved on the T-72. The diesel engine built into the tank is "omnivorous," so that it can be operated on several kinds of fuel.

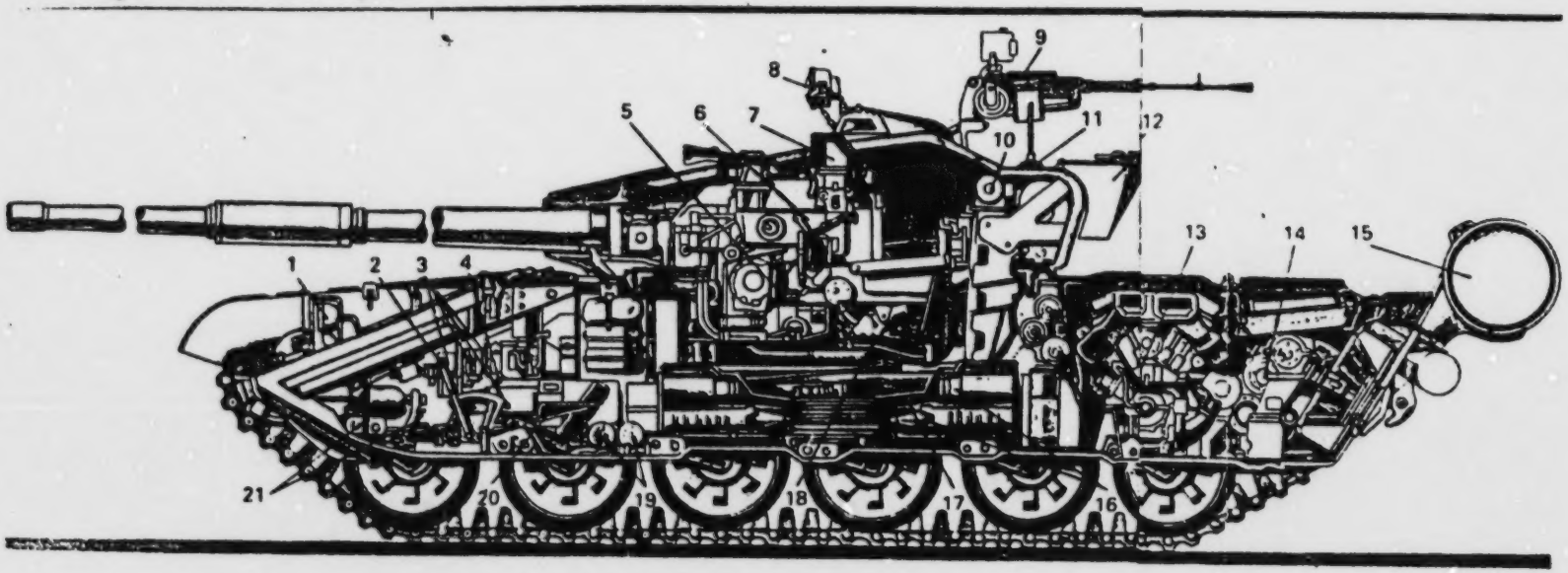
Mobility is also affected by the tank's size. The tank's length is 9.2 meters, its width is 3.2, its height is 2.26 and its ground clearance is 0.47 meters. The tank's weight is 41 tons. The 580 kW engine through the hydraulic transmission can accelerate it to speeds of 50-60 km per hour.

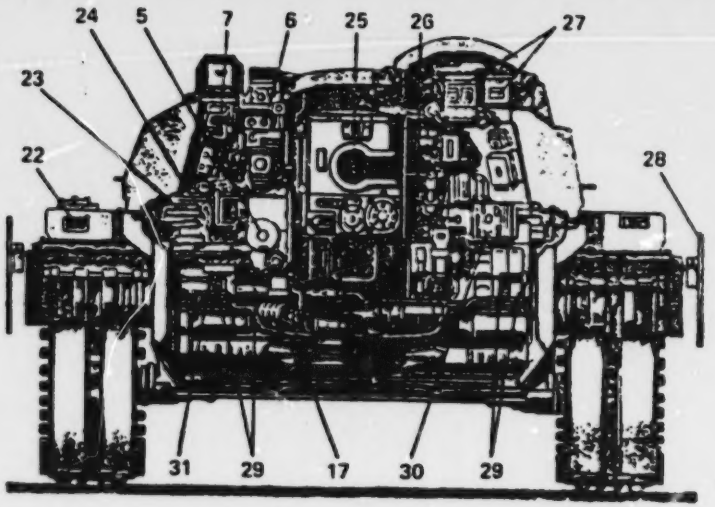
The length of the track chain's ground contact is 4.25 meters, the chain's width is 0.58 meter. This results in a specific ground pressure of only 81.4 kP. As a consequence of this the T-72 can also operate without the danger of "sinking" over sandy and wet soil. The T-72 is the first model in the T-series on which instead of the large diameter runner rollers smaller diameter ones are used. The well designed track system increases the tank's ability to traverse terrain and to accelerate; at the same time this also provides increased level of protection.

KEY [to Figures on following page]:

( 1) Floodlight of the tank's driver
( 2) Joystick control
( 3) Instruments of the nuclear-biological-chemical defense system
( 4) Transmission control lever
( 5) Artillery height guidance machine
( 6) Guidance telescope and telemetry
( 7) Night sight guidance instrument
( 8) Commander's night sight infrared flood light
( 9) Aerial defense machine gun
(10) Lifting mechanism of the recharging machine
(11) Antenna connection
(12) Storage box for underwater crossing supplies
(13) Engine
(14) Gear shift [transmission]
(15) Reserve fuel barrel
(16) Ammunition and shells
(17) Ammunition moving system
(18) Bombardier's seat
(19) Chemical immunization equipment for the battle vehicle
(20) Driver's seat
(21) Brake pedal
(22) Attachment box
(23) Manual turret rotator
(24) Angle indicator of the turret and of cannon
(25) Cannon
(26) 7.62 mm size machine gun parallel with the cannon
(27) Commander's observation instrument
(28) Apron sheet (protective sheet against cumulative bullets)
(29) Machine gun ammunition racks
(30) Radio transmitter-receiver
(31) Turret rotating equipment

Longitudinal and Diagonal Cross-Section of the T-72

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## HISTORIA EDITOR DISCUSSES POLICY OF POPULAR PERIODICAL

Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP (supplement) in Hungarian 12 Oct 85 p 5

[Interview with Ferenc Glatz, department director at the Institute of Historical Studies and chief editor of the journal HISTORIA, by Margit Foldesi: "History and HISTORIA"]

[Text] In the August 18th, 1985 issue of our magazine Professor Gyorgy Ranki discussed research into current events issues that pertain to our nation, and how these affect international relations. Here we asked Ferenc Glatz, department director at the Institute of Historical Studies and Chief Editor of the journal 'Historia', and a noted representative of our historiography, how the relationships between historiography and public awareness are reflected in the columns of 'Historia.' Ferenc Glatz was born in 1941. He completed his studies in history at the Philosophy Department of the Eotvos Lorand Scholarly University. He is the Secretary of the Editorial Board of 'Szazadok' and a working member of the Institute of Historical Studies. Since 1976 he has been a scholarly department director. He is a specialist in the history of education during the 19th and 20th centuries and in methodological questions concerning history writing. Since it was founded, in 1979, he has been the Chief Editor of the journal 'Historia.' He has had long term fellowships in the FRG, the Soviet Union, and in France. He has lectured in numerous places, including Bucharest in 1980, and in 1985 at the World Congress of Historians in Stuttgart.

[Question] What were the societal needs that brought a popular historical journal to life? How was 'Historia' born?

[Answer] During times when the various institutions of society do not fulfill their functions to the fullest extent, and members of society sense this, a general curiosity and sensitivity arises on the level of everyday thought about the paths that led to the present: What were the circumstances leading to the creation of the institutions and politics we have had up to the present? In other words, there is an extraordinary growth of interest in history. Historical experiences are mobilized to influence changes taking place in the present.

In Hungary, everything that began with the dissolution of the personality cult bore consequences that affected the '70s. People began to talk about issues

and to inquire into areas which had previously been forcibly suppressed. These issues touched seriously upon the new circumstances of small Central European nations since the Second World War. Among them was the frank surfacing of what the place of the Hungarians would be in the community of socialist countries? These questions also led to a renewed interest in history.

The third factor that contributed to the birth of a publication with a circulation of 55,000 copies was the need for historical scholarship to be pried out from between the confines of research institutions, so that the new achievements of this scholarship would be disseminated in a popular format.

[Question] Who reads the journal? Who is it aimed at, and who does it actually reach?

[Answer] 'Historia' attempts to approach the relationship between the historian and the public from different points of view. At scholarly meetings we even debate what the role of society--"the consumers" of history writing--is in the development of historiography. When we first brought this up at the theoretical conference it provoked a major controversy. As we see it the new points of view of historical scholarship are already present in virtually all aspects of everyday thought. The historian must therefore endeavor to be accurately familiar with the thinking of the social strata within which he lives and for whom he writes. The average person experiences the changes taking place in the world on a day to day basis, living them in the thousands of minute details of daily life. He reacts daily to the course of new economic and political events. And the flow of events also forces him to constantly compare today to yesterday, his present to his past. In the final analysis we can say that a systematic and continuous historical re-assessment occurs at the level of everyday thought. New points of view grow from this re-assessment, and the historian has to think along the lines of these new perspectives. I don't think it accidental that themes such as the history of everyday life and inquiries into behavior patterns as they relate to health issues should appear in the history writing of the last ten years.

[Question] Which subjects or areas have aroused the most interest?

[Answer] In view of all this one would think that the public is only interested in the history of the present, namely the era since liberation. Not so. Those subjects that people consider important in their own daily interactions, are also what they become interested in when their curiosity turns to the history of the middle ages, and even antiquity. For example, my cherished ex-professor Istvan Hahn, who died last year, was one of the most frequent contributors among 'Historia's' editors because he was always ready to cite examples from the history of ancient societies to help shed light on questions that came up in committee meeting battles and in lengthy hallway discussions. To the inspiration of his students, he was always glad to write about contemporary issues (corruption, enterprises, etc.) in the world of two thousand years ago. Of course, the ability to do this requires the kind of superior professional skill and writing ability which he happened to possess.

Hungarian historical scholarship is internationally recognized as strong. In my judgement, our excellent professional qualifications make it possible to satisfy the diversified interests of our readership. Possibly the most important responsibility of an editor is to accurately guage the needs of society, and to perceive how best to respond with the professional means at hand: (Which subjects and what new perspectives can be applied to a period already exhaustively studied?)

[Question] Based on all of this how do you appraise the present state of our historical awareness? Can we even talk about a homogeneous historical awareness?

[Answer] As far as I can tell we can never speak about a homogeneous historical awareness. And for me, the years during which we tried to impose a homogeneous historical awareness on society inspire only bad memories. Political, economic, and consequently historical processes are composed of the struggle between many forces and the open expression of numerous opinions; rather than being the products of a struggle between "good" and "evil." In the sense that everyone should have the same attitude as I have about what happened yesterday, or before liberation, or in medieval history; there shouldn't in fact be any so called homogeneous historical awareness. Unfortunately, the ability to put up with differences of opinion--or tolerance, is not one of the strongest properties of our political thinking, and therefore of our historical thinking. And the way things usually are, when the political leadership is intolerant over the decades or even over the centuries, then public awareness is going to be intolerant as well. This even trickles down to us through the letters and calls coming into our editorial offices. One of the most positive motifs of the ideological and cultural-political progress of recent years that I see is that the professional scholarly fields were not required to provide recipes; the scholarly sciences were not asked to reconstruct the past on a daily basis according to a pre-ordained recipe provided by them. Unfortunately I can cite extremist opinions concerning national issues as well as social issues which come to us. As a teacher one must exercise extreme patience when disputing extremism, in order to whittle away at it.

[Question] When writing history how do the goals of scientific objectivity, the national interest, and the shorter range tactical interests of politics inter-relate?

[Answer] Historiography always strives towards objectivity. We don't have the right to assume that those who do not necessarily think in a Marxist framework, or who perhaps have a different opinion from us on specific questions, are motivated by some intentional deviation, or see results differently from us due to a fit of anger.

One of the biggest drawbacks of Marxist thought in Eastern European countries is that at first it always asked why someone else--the opposing debater--is saying something different from me, instead of approaching the opposing point of view by asking: What truth is there, or what possibility of truth is there in that position? Well, this bad legacy also affects debates over "our national interests." It also has an impact on our analysis of the relationship

between politics and the scholarly profession. I view attempts throughout history to unify and align politics with the political administration as bad and as a historically harmful position. In the history of centralized states, the administration has alwyas attempted to portray itself as the sole custodian of legitimate representation of the community. Representation of the national community--be it in economics, culture, or military-political affairs--is not solely the concern of the adminstration, but also the concern of broader segments of society. I think that the exercise of this has started to take shape during the politics of the past twenty years. But spreading the awareness of this is still not pursued with enough assertiveness. But as much as I hold this one-sidedness to be bad, I see it as equally bad--and a tendency which must be considered a sign of internal social disintegration--when the middle classes as well as the manual laborer classes perceive politics as being exclusively the responsibility of the establishment. One of the consequences of this is that when a small business partnership funcitons poorly, or if production is down, then the culprit is sought among the political leadership instead of among themselves. I detect a dangerous behavior pattern that has emerged in the history of the last decade, and is becoming an established part of the thinking of certain segments of society. It is a refusal to take responsibility for everything that has happened in the past and continues to happen here. But we should know: that for people to feel responsible for something, it is also necessary that the leadership provide the opportunity for members of society to develop socio-cultural activities. Moreover these activities need not move exclusively in directions envisioned by certain leaders. Thus, if you wish to know, I hold the restoration of this wounded harmony to be among the top priorities of our national interest. Perhaps it seems strange that as a historian my list of issues of national importance does not just include national minorities, their fates, and the conflicts between states. As is also evident in 'Historia' I consider these problems as questions of survival; they are questions which not only society, but also the political administration should become more preoccupied with. But as a historian it is my conviction that the highest priority task in the course of our national development is the nurturing of those factors which insure internal social cohesion in our society.

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POLAND

## LAWS ON HIGHER EDUCATION PUBLISHED

### Amendments to Law on Higher Education

Warsaw DZIENNIK USTAW in Polish No 36, Item 167, 12 Aug 85 pp 429-439

[Text of decree: "Decree of 25 July 1985 on Revising the Decree on Higher Education"]

[Text] Article 1. The following revisions are introduced in the Decree of 4 May 1982 on Higher Education (DZIENNIK USTAW No 14, Item 113; and No 39, Item 176, 1983):

1) In Article 4, Section 2, Points 2 and 13, the new wording is:

"2) election of the rector, prorectors, deans, assistant deans and collegial bodies;

"13) provision of the proper conditions for the activities of student, trade-union, social and employee organizations as well as student self-government."

2) Following Article 4, articles 4a and 4 b are to be added, as follows:

"Article 4a. 1. To assure improved bonds between the higher schools and the community as well as the economy and culture of the region, the proper province people's councils may, upon consulting the rectors and senates, appoint social councils for the region's higher schools, or social councils for each higher school, from among political, social, economic and cultural activists, as well as from among academics. Higher-school rectors will take part in the activities of these councils.

"2. Social councils for higher schools will, in particular:

"1) promote the utilization of the potential of higher school or schools for the social, economic and cultural needs of the region;

"2) provide the school or schools with assistance in

its/their activities.

"3 The scope and methods of activity of social councils for higher schools will be determined by the Council of State.

"Article 4b. 1. The Minister of Science and Higher Education shall implement the state's policy on higher education, coordinate in this respect the activities of higher schools and supervise and control his subordinate higher schools. The powers of the Minister of Science and Higher Education with respect to the supervision and control of the subordinate higher schools are defined in Decree provisions. Powers analogous to those of the Minister of Science and Higher Education with respect to the operation and organization of higher schools and their supervision and control belong correspondingly to other concerned ministers with regard to the higher schools subordinate to them.

"2. Higher-school organs and the collegial bodies operating in these schools on the basis of legal provisions or the school statute are placed under the obligation of providing, upon demand by the concerned minister, explanations on all matters relating to the school's activities.

"3. Higher-school organs are placed under the obligation of implementing in toto and on schedule the post-inspection recommendations issued by the concerned minister and the legally empowered inspection offices.

"4. The concerned minister may, by issuing an ordinance, delegate for a specified period of time some of his powers, as ensuing from the Decree provisions, to the organs of higher schools."

3) In Article 6, Paragraph 4, the expression "in the decree" is supplanted with the expression "in the Decree provisions."

4) In Article 7:

a) Paragraph 1 is reworded as follows:

"1. The school operates on the basis of the school statute. The Minister of Science and Higher Education determines the model statute of the higher school."

b) The following Paragraph 1a is added below Paragraph 1:

"1a. The school statute is voted by the senate upon consulting the collegial bodies of the school's organizational units and the political and social organizations active in the school."

c) In Paragraph 3 the word "three" is replaced with the word "two."

d) Paragraphs 4 and 5 are reworded as follows:

"4. The appropriate minister may approve the school statute within 3 months from the date of its reception, upon verifying its conformity with the law and the principles specified in the model statute.

"5. The school statute becomes effective on the day it is approved by the appropriate minister."

5) In Article 8:

a) In Paragraph 2 the expression "the Main Council for Science and Higher Education" is replaced with the expression "The Minister of Science and Higher Education in cooperation with the appropriate ministers, upon consulting the Main Council for Science and Higher Education."

b) In Paragraph 3 the expression "and postgraduate" is to be inserted after the expression "externist," and the following last sentence is added: "The rules for the conduct of externist and postgraduate studies are determined by the Minister of Science and Higher Education."

c) Paragraph 4 is reworded as follows:

"4. The schools also offer special studies and courses as well as, with the consent of the appropriate minister, studies of the open-university type."

d) The following Paragraph 4a is to be inserted below Paragraph 4:

"4a. The organizational units of the school authorized to confer the habilitated doctoral degree may, upon the consent of the Minister of Science and Higher Education, offer doctoral studies."

e) In Paragraph 5 the reference to Article 57, paragfaph 2, Point 2, is replaced with a reference to Article 57, Paragraph 1, Point 2.

6) In Article 9 Paragraph 2 is deleted.

7) In Article 10 the following last sentence is inserted in Paragraph 1: "In arts schols proposals for conferring the doctoral degree honoris causa may also originate from the department authorized to perform the qualifying proceedings for the rank of docent."

8) Article 14 is complemented with Paragraph 3, as follows:

"3. The appropriate minister may perform revisions in the school's publishing plan."

9) In Article 15:

a) The following last sentence is inserted in Paragraph 1: "The rector summons law enforcement organs to the school campus if he cannot assure restoration of public order."

b) The following expression is inserted after the expression "natural disaster" in the second sentence of Paragraph 3: "or receipt of notice that a crime has been committed."

10) Articles 17 and 18 are reworded as follows:

"Article 17. 1. the term of office of the Main Council is 3 years and commences on 1 December.

"2. The Main Council consists of representatives of the higher schools subordinate to the Minister of Science and Higher Education, the Minister of Health and Social Welfare, the Minister of Culture and Art, the Minister-Director of the Office for the Maritime Economy and the Main Committee for Physical Culture and Sports.

"Article 18. 1. Members of the Main Council are elected by the school senates. Upon the proviso in Paragraph 2, each senate elects one member to the Main Council.

"2. The Main Council may identify not later than by 30 June of the last year of its term of office the schools whose senates elect jointly one member of the Main Council. In the event the Main Council takes no action during that period, these schools may be identified by the Minister of Science and Higher Education.

"3. Persons employed in schools as professors and docents have passive voting rights. Persons exercising functions of the rector, the prorector, the dean, or the director of a theme-oriented institute operating outside a department lack passive voting rights.

"4. Elections of members of the Main Council occur not later than by 31 October of the last year of its term of office. The Minister of Science and Higher Education is to be informed of the election results.

"5. The Minister of Science and Higher Education presents the elected members to the Chairman of the Council of Ministers, who formally appoints them members of the Main

Council. The Minister of Science and Higher Education may decline to present an elected individual to the Chairman of the Council of Ministers if this is dictated by important social interest, and he then fixes the date for a new election.

"6. If a senate does not elect a member of the Main Council, he is appointed by the Chairman of the Council of Ministers upon the recommendation of the Minister of Science and Higher Education.

"7. In cases specified in Paragraphs 2, 5 and 6 the Minister of Science and Higher Education acts in consultation with the appropriate ministers concerning the schools they supervise."

11) In Article 20 Paragraph 5 is reworded as follows:

"5. Representatives of the academic instructors referred to in Paragraph 2 are elected by their representatives who are sitting on the collegial bodies of the schools named by the Main Council during its expiring term of office. The provisions of Article 18, Paragraphs 2 and 4-7, apply correspondingly."

12) Article 21 is reworded as follows:

"Article 21. 1. The Main Council, on the recommendation of the Minister of Science and Higher Education, determines the:

"1) main directions of scientific research and the training and development of higher-education personnel;

"2) drafts of higher-education research plans; when adopting pertinent resolutions the Main Council is bound by the provisions of longrange plans, national socioeconomic plans and central annual plans.

"2. The Main Council issues opinions on:

"1) drafts of longrange and periodic plans for the development of higher education;

"2) principles for the organization of studies;

"3) principles and admission limits for the first year of studies;

"4) principles for drafting study plans and curriculums;

"5) directions and principles of personnel and social policies in higher education;

"6) principles of financing the scientific research conducted in schools and principles of cooperation in this respect between schools and other research centers;

"7) proposals for the allocation of funds among schools;

"8) recommendations for establishing, disbanding, merging and changing schools;

"9) principles of cooperation between schools and foreign countries;

"10) drafts of normative acts relating to the organization and functioning of higher education, as voted by the Sejm or the Council of Ministers, as issued on the basis of this Decree by the Minister of Science and Higher Education;

"11) other matters presented by the Minister of Science and Higher Education."

13) The following Article 22a is inserted under Article 22:

"Article 22a. The Chairman of the Council of Ministers may, upon the recommendation of the Minister of Science and Higher Education, void resolutions of the Main Council if these infringe the laws or run counter to important social interests."

14) In Article 23 the term "as well as" is replaced with a comma, and the expression "and Article 22a" is inserted at the end.

15) Chapter 4 in Part I is deleted.

16) In Article 26 the following Paragraph 3a is inserted under Paragraph 3:

"3a. The outside organizational units of a school may be affiliates, outreach departments and consultation offices";

17) In Article 29:

a) Paragraph 1 is reworded as follows:

"1. The department, the organizational unit of an extradepartmental or interdepartmental nature, the outside organizational unit, and the clinic in a medical academy, are established by the appropriate minister upon the recommendation of the rector in consultation with the senate."

b) In Paragraph 3 the expression "with the exception of outside organizational units and clinics in the medical academies" is inserted after the expression "within the framework of a department";

18) Articles 35 and 36 are reworded as follows:

"Article 35. The term of office of the school's bodies is 3 years. It commences on 1 September and ends on 31 August.

"Article 36. 1. The senate's membership consists of:

"1) the rector as the chairman;

"2) the prorectors;

"3) the deans and the directors of the theme-oriented institutes operating outside the departments;

"4) one representative each from the faculties (and extradepartmental institutes), who is a professor or a docent; to be elected by the faculty (or institute) council;

"5) two to four representatives of the other academic instructors;

"6) one representative each delegated by the branches of the party and allied political parties active at the school;

"7) the director of the main library, insofar as this figures in the statute of the school;

"8) the director of the military training program;

"9) one representative of the trade union operating on the school's campus;

"10) one representative each of the national student and youth organizations operating on the school's campus;

"11) the chairman of the student body self-government at the school.

2. The procedure for the election and recall of the representatives of academic instructors mentioned in Paragraph 1, Point 5, is determined by the school statute.

3. At least 70 percent of the membership of the senate will consist of professors and docents. If, pursuant to Paragraph 1, the share of this category is lower, the share of the senate's members who are representatives of

faculty councils increases correspondingly; the number of these representatives is determined by the school statute.

4. If the number of professors and docents at a school is such that the school cannot assure their 70-percent membership in the senate, the membership of the senate is determined by the school statute.

19) Article 37 is deleted.

20) In Article 38 the expressions "docents and habilitated Ph. D.'s" is replaced with "and docents";

21) Article 39 is reworded as follows:

"Article 39. The following take part in the senate's sessions in an advisory capacity: the administrative director, the quaestor and the director of the main library unless he is a senate member, and also a representative of student dormitory self-government";

22) Article 41 is reworded as follows:

"Article 41. 1. The rector is elected by the senate.

"2. The candidates for the rectorship -- two to four -- are nominated by the senate and their names are submitted to the appropriate minister not later than by 30 April of the last year of the term of office.

"3. The appropriate minister may, within 14 days from the date the list of candidates is submitted, present objections against the candidacy of an individual or individuals nominated by the senate and designate a date for the nomination of a new candidate or candidates for the rectorship..

"4. The election of the rector is performed by 31 May of the last year of the term of office from among at least two candidates nominated in consonance with Paragraphs 2 and 3.

"5. The person elected by the procedure specified in Paragraph 4 is appointed to the post of the rector by the appropriate minister.

"6. If the senate does not present a list of candidates in compliance with Paragraphs 2 and 3, or if it fails to elect a rector, the rector is appointed by the appropriate minister";

23) In Article 43:

a) Paragraphs 2 and 3 are reworded as follows:

"2. The prorector may be a professor or a docent.

"3. Prorectors are elected by the senate upon the recommendation of the rector-elect, presented with the approval of the appropriate minister. The provisions of Article 41, Paragraphs 5 and 6, apply correspondingly."

b) Paragraphs 4 and 6 are deleted.

24) In Article 44:

a) In Paragraph 1:

-- Points 3 and 4 are reworded as follows:

"3) the other professors and docents working in the department;

"4) a representative of the military training program."

-- The following Points 5-7 are inserted:

"5) two representatives of the other academic instructors, elected by these at a general meeting;

"6) one representative each delegated by the branches of the party, the allied political parties and the trade union active within the department;

"7) one representative each of the departmental branches of national student and youth organizations, as well as the chairman of the faculty office of student self-government."

b) Paragraph 2 is reworded as follows:

"2. The provisions of Article 38 apply correspondingly to the faculty council";

25) The following Article 44a is inserted under Article 44:

"Article 44a. The provisions of Article 44 apply correspondingly to the composition of the council of the theme-oriented institute operating outside the departments";

26) In Article 45 the expression "docent or habilitated Ph. D." is replaced each time with "or docent";

27) Article 46 is reworded as follows:

"Article 46. 1. The dean is elected by the faculty council.

"2. Candidates for the deanship -- two to four -- are nominated by the faculty council and their names are given to the rector-elect within 14 days from the date of his election.

"3. The rector-elect may, in cooperation with the appropriate minister, within 14 days from the date on which he is notified of the names of the candidates, object to the candidacy of an individual or individuals nominated by the faculty council and designate the period within which new candidates for the deanship should be nominated.

"4. The election of the dean takes place by 30 June of the last year of the term of office, from among at least two candidates nominated.

"5. The person elected by the procedure specified in Paragraph 4 is appointed by the rector to exercise the duties of the dean.

"6. If the faculty council does not submit a list of candidates pursuant to Paragraphs 2 and 3, or if it does not elect the dean, the dean is appointed by the rector with the consent of the appropriate minister."

28) In Article 47 Paragraphs 2 and 3 are reworded as follows:

"2. The assistant dean may be a professor or a docent.

"3. Assistant deans are elected by the faculty council upon the recommendation of the dean-elect, given with the consent of the the rector-elect. The provisions of Article 46, Paragraphs 5 and 6 apply correspondingly."

29) Article 49 is reworded as follows:

"Article 49. The director and deputy director of the theme-oriented extradepartmental institute are elected by the institute council. The provisions of Articles 46-48 apply correspondingly"

30) Article 50 is reworded as follows:

"Article 50. 1. The directors and deputy directors of the institutes not mentioned in Article 49 as well as chair, laboratory and clinic directors are appointed by the rector from among the school's professors and docents upon the recommendation of the dean, following consultation with the department (institute) council.

"2. The directors (heads) of other organizational units of the school and their deputies are appointed by the rector."

31) In Article 54 Paragraph 2 is deleted.

32) Article 56 is deleted.

33) Article 57 is reworded as follows:

"Article 57. 1. The senate, as the collegial body of the school, in particular:

"1) votes the school statute and the academic rules;

"2) determines the main directions of the activities of the school;

"3) makes recommendations on study plans and instructional and upbringing curricula;

"4) makes recommendations on draft agreements with other schools or other institutions and organizational units on matters relating to the conduct of joint activities;

"5) makes recommendations on the school's material-financial plan and considers reports on its fulfillment;

"6) accepts the rector's annual report on the activities of the school;

"7) determines the size and scope of the school's economic or service-providing activities;

"8) adopts, on the rector's recommendation or on its own initiative, resolutions commenting on other matters pertaining to the school and its activities."

"2. The tasks ensuing from Paragraph 1, Point 3, do not apply to the plans and programs for military activities and defense training.

"3. The specific competences of the senate are defined in the school statute;

34) Article 58 is deleted;

35) Article 59 is reworded as follows:

"Article 59. 1. The rector directs the school's activities.

"2. The rector, in particular:

"1) represents the school off campus;

"2) convenes sessions of the senate and chairs its deliberations, except sessions at which the rector's performance is evaluated;

"3) is the superior of all employees of the school as well as the superior and mentor of all students;

"4) takes decisions on the operations of the school that do not lie within the scope of competences of its other organizations;

"5) exercises current supervision over the school administration;

"6) assures adherence to laws on the school campus;

"7) acts to assure proper operating conditions for the school;

"8) acts to meet the social, living, health and cultural needs of students and school personnel;

"9) takes decisions on matters relating to cooperation with foreign centers;

"10) determines the scope of activities of the prorectors;

"11) submits to the appropriate minister for confirmation course plans and instructional and upbringing curricula;

"12) concludes agreements with other schools or institutions and organizational units on matters concerning the conduct of joint activities;

"13) determines the school's financial-material plan;

"14) assures proper staffing of the positions of academic instructors and others at the school;

"15) conducts periodic evaluations of the performance of the organizational units of the school and their personnel;

"16) exercises control over the activities of the school's organizational units;

"17) decides on matters specified in the decree and statute of the school.

"3. In administering the school the rector cooperates with the branches of the party and allied political parties operating at the school, as well as with the campus branches of national student and youth organizations and student self-government. On matters relating to student upbringing the rector acts in cooperation with the campus branches of the party and allied political parties, as well as with the campus branches of national student and youth organizations and student self-government, while on matters relating to personnel policy he acts in cooperation with the branches of the party and allied political parties operating at the school.

"4. Under the rector operates the rector's collegium as the rector's consultative and advisory body whose tasks include issuing recommendations on matters presented by the rector. The rector's collegium includes:

"1) the rector as the chairman;

"2) the prorectors;

"3) the heads of the branches of the party and the allied political parties located at the school as well as of the trade union;

"4) the administrative director."

36) In Article 60:

a) In Point 1 the expression "and recalled" is deleted;

b) Point 4 is reworded as follows:

"4) opines on draft study plans and instructional and upbringing curricula."

c) Point 5 is deleted.

d) Points 6 and 8 are reworded as follows:

"6) opines on the recommendations of the dean concerning the assignment of instructional tasks to non-school persons;

"8) opines on recommendations concerning research sabbaticals for personnel and oversees the effectiveness of their utilization."

37) Article 61 is deleted.

38) In Article 62:

a) Paragraph 1 is deleted.

b) Points 8a-8d, whose wording is given below, are inserted under Point 8 in Paragraph 2:

"8a) determines draft study plans and instructional and upbringing curricula;

"8b) assures the proper staffing of the positions of academic instructors and others;

"8c) performs periodic evaluations of the organizational units of the faculties and their personnel;

"8d) exercises supervision over the activities of the organizational units of the faculties."

c) Paragraph 3, worded below, is added:

"3. The provisions of Article 3, Paragraphs 3 and 4, apply correspondingly;

39) In Article 63 the expression "and rights" is to be inserted each time after the term "competences" and the expression "which are not organizational units of the faculties" is to be supplanted each time by the term "extradepartmentally operating";

40) In Article 70 Paragraph 2 is deleted.

41) In Article 84 Paragraph 1 is reworded as follows:

"1. The school's material-financial plan, together with the financial plans of the units organizationally linked to the school, is determined by the rector upon consulting the senate. The rector presents to the senate for consideration the annual report on the fulfillment of the school's material-financial plan."

42) In Article 87 the expression "aliens and their course work" is supplanted each time by the expression "persons who are not Polish citizens and their course work."

43) In Article 89:

a) In Paragraph 1 the expression "the faculty (or theme-oriented institute) council is supplanted each time by the expression "the dean (the director of the theme-oriented institute)."

b) In Paragraph 3 the expression "the school senate" is supplanted each time by the expression "the rector";

44) Article 90a, whose text is given below, is inserted under Article 90:

"Article 90a. A student may receive permission to repeat a year or semester of studies not more than once during his attendance of the school, unless the reason for failure to earn credits is prolonged illness or other particularly important reasons";

45) In Article 96, Paragraphs 1 and 2, the expression "the faculty council" is each time supplanted by the expression "the rector in cooperation with the appropriate minister";

46) In Article 100, Paragraph 2, the expression "and the campus branches of national student and youth organizations is inserted in the second sentence following the term "student";

47) In Article 105 the expression "blue-collar and professional" is inserted each time before the expressions "student internships";

48) In Article 115 Paragraph 2 is reworded as follows:

"2. The appeal is submitted within 14 days from the date the verdict is transmitted to a peer jury of higher instance or to a disciplinary appeals commission, in compliance with the procedure for transferring the case specified in Article 106, Paragraph 2";

49) The following Article 119a is inserted under Article 119:

"Article 119a. 1. In the event a student commits a socially particularly harmful transgression and proceedings for violation of of public order are instituted against him/her, the dean or, in the event of his inaction, the rector suspends the student for the duration of the period specified in the student's rights.

"2. In the event a student commits a socially particularly harmful transgression and is sentenced by penal proceedings or by proceedings on the grounds of violation of public order, the rector or, in the event his passivity, the appropriate minister may, depending on the nature of the transgression and the degree of culpability, after consulting the disciplinary body, delete the student's name from the enrollment list.

"3. The decision of the dean or rector to suspend a student's rights may be appealed by the student to, correspondingly, the rector or the appropriate minister, while the decision of the rector to delete the student's name from the enrollment list may be appealed to the appropriate minister within 14 days after that decision is handed down.

"4. The decision of the minister to delete a student's name from the enrollment list, taken pursuant to Paragraph 2, may be appealed to the Supreme Administrative Court on the basis of and through the procedure specified in the Code of Administrative Proceedings."

50) In Article 120:

a) In Paragraph 2 the clause "with respect to aspects of the instructional and upbringing process and social and living conditions" is inserted at the end."

b) Paragraph 3 is reworded as follows:

"3. The Minister of Science and Higher Education determines:

"1) by means of an ordinance, the principles for the formation and operation of student self-government organs.

"2) the general bylaws of student self-government."

c) Paragraph 4 is deleted;

51) Article 121 is reworded as follows:

"Article 121. The proper organs of student self-government act as consultative bodies in all matters relating to the process of education and upbringing, material assistance, rewards for academic accomplishments and allocation of funds earmarked for student purposes";

52) In Article 122 the following Paragraph 3 is added:

"3. The provisions of Article 121 apply to the national student and youth organizations active on the campus of the school";

53) Article 124 is reworded as follows:

"Article 124. 1. National, local and campus student organizations and associations as well as their branches (elements) operate on the basis of the legal provisions governing the associations as well as pursuant to the provisions of this Decree.

"2. The science, arts and sports clubs that are not statutory elements of national student and youth organizations operate upon the rector's prior approval of their formation; the rector ['s office] is the agency registering and keeping a record of these clubs";

54) In article 125 the expression "and important social interests" is inserted at the end.

55) Articles 126, 128 and 129 are reworded as follows:

"Article 126. The registering agency may disband a student organization or association if its activities conflict with the law or important social interests.

"Article 128. The Minister of Science and Higher Education determines by way of ordinances, in cooperation with the supreme bodies of national student organizations, the principles for the formation, the procedure for the registration and the conduct of recordkeeping of science, arts and sports clubs as well as the principles and procedure for their disbanding.

"Article 129. Students have the right to organize on-campus rallies and demonstrations meeting the regulations governing assemblies. The school rector has in this respect, on the basis of these provisions, the same rights as those of a basic-level local agency of state administration [law enforcement], and in the event of inaction of the rector, these rights are exercised by the province-level local agency of state administration competent to handle socioadministrative affairs."

56) Article 132 is reworded as follows:

"Article 132. 1. Persons hired as academic-instructional personnel must have a high ethical level and:

"1) possess academic or artistic qualifications, teaching qualifications and upbringing and other abilities corresponding to the academic orientation and general scope of activities of the school;

"2) accept fully the Constitutional systemic principles of the Polish People's Republic and guide themselves by them in their activities: the opinion in this respect is issued by the head of the organizational unit at which the applicant is employed (or studying), in cooperation with the appropriate agencies of the party and the allied political parties.

"2. Applicants accepted for the first time for any research-instructional position ranking below the position of docent must first depose the following oath: 'Being fully aware of my obligations, I do solemnly swear that, as an academic instructor, I shall actively participate in the research and

instructional activities of the higher school and contribute to educating and raising students into idealistic enlightened citizens of the Polish People's Republic as a socialist state, and consistently improve my own instructional and academic qualifications. In my conduct I shall guide myself by the good of the State and the Constitutional principles of the Polish People's Republic. I shall carry out my duties conscientiously.'

"3. Hiring for the position of docent is preceded by the deposition of the following oath by the applicant:

"'Being fully aware of my obligations, I do solemnly swear to:

"'-- educate and form students into idealistic and enlightened citizens of the Polish People's Republic economy and culture;

"'-- educate and form young academic cadre capable of assuring the development of science, culture and national economy;

"'-- actively participate in the research and academic activities of the higher school;

"'-- in my entire conduct guide myself by the good of the State and the Constitutional principles of the Polish People's Republic as well as maintain the dignity of the academic instructor and the good name of the school.'

"4. The provisions of Paragraph 3 also apply to hiring for the position of professor a person who has not previously been employed as a docent by the same school";

57) In Article 133:

a) In Paragraph 1 the expression "results of their performance" is supplanted with expressions "comprising the results of their research, instructional, formative and organizational performance and their civic attitude," and the following sentence is added: "Evaluations also are performed prior to the expiration of the period of employment of the research-instructional employee."

b) In Paragraph 2 the expression "results of performance" is deleted and the expression "conducted by the collegial bodies specified in the school statute" is supplanted with the expression "conducted by the rector";

58) In Article 138:

a) The original text is designated as Paragraph 1 and in Point 2 the expression "or" is supplanted with the expression "as well as."

b) Paragraph 2 is added, worded as follows:

"2. The principles of attaining and crediting work seniority are determined by the Council of Ministers."

59) In Article 144:

a) In Paragraph 1 the expression "in particular" is supplanted with the expression "coparticipation in implementing the school tasks defined in Article 132, and in particular," and in Point 2 the expression "and upbringing" is inserted after the expression "teaching."

b) In Paragraph 2 the expression "the docent and other research-instructional employees" is supplanted with the expression "and the docent."

60) In Article 148:

a) Paragraph 2 is reworded as follows:

"2. The average salary of research-instructional personnel is raised annually to an extent not lower than the planned increase in the average wages of employees of the sphere of material production in the socialized economy."

b) The following Paragraph 2a is added under Paragraph 2:

"2a. The principles of comparison of the level of remuneration referred to in Paragraph 2 are determined, by way of an ordinance, by the Minister of Labor, Wages and Social Services, in cooperation with the Minister of Science and Higher Education";

61) In Article 151, Paragraph 3, the expression "the docent and other research-instructional personnel with habilitated doctoral degrees" is supplanted by "and the docent";

62) Article 152 is reworded as follows:

"Article 152. 1. The research-instructional employee may, allowing for the proviso of Paragraph 2, obtain extra employment with the consent of the rector.

"2. The Minister of Health and Social Welfare determines the principles for the acceptance by the research-instructional personnel of medical academies of extra employment at cooperative health-service centers, as well

as for their exercise of private practice in the medical professions;

63) In Article 160, Paragraph 2, the expression "occurs" is supplanted by the expression "may occur";

64) In Article 163, Paragraph 2, the expression "and they also take no part in proceedings for the conferral of an academic degree or rank" is deleted;

65) In Article 164:

a) Paragraph 2 is reworded as follows:

"2. The appointment to the position of assistant is for a period of 2 years."

b) The following Paragraph 2a is inserted under Paragraph 2:

"2a. The appointment to the position of senior assistant is for a period of 3 years and may be renewed only once for a subsequent period of 3 years."

c) Paragraph 3 is reworded as follows:

"3. The combined period of employment in the positions of assistant and senior assistant may not exceed 8 years. In the scientific disciplines specified by the Minister of Science and Higher Education, upon consulting the Main Council, the employment of senior assistants may be extended for an additional 3-year period."

d) Paragraph 4 is reworded as follows:

"4. The appointment to the position of adjunct professor is for a period of 3 years and may be renewed twice for the subsequent 3-year periods."

e) Paragraphs 5 and 6 are reworded as follows:

"5. The adjunct professor who has earned a habilitated doctoral degree may be, in warranted cases, particularly when this concerns interests of the school or the scientific discipline or requirements and conditions for teamwork research, with the consent of the appropriate minister, appointed for an indefinite period.

"6. The employment of the adjunct professor on whom it has been resolved to confer a habilitated doctoral degree is subject to being extended until a decision on this matter is taken by the Central Certification Commission for Academic Personnel, and in the event that said resolution is approved, it is extended for an additional 6 months."

f) The following Paragraph 6a is inserted under Paragraph 6:

"6a. The appropriate minister names to the habilitated dcotor the school or other organizational unit engaging in research activities in which he is to be employed in the position of docent or in another position corresponding to his qualifications."

g) In Paragraph 7 the reference to "Paragraphs 1, 2 and 4" is supplanted by a reference to "Paragraphs 1-4";

66) In Article 165:

a) In Paragraph 1 the first sentence is reworded as follows: "Appointments to the position of professor and docent are performed by the appropriate minister upon the request of the rector combined with a recommendation by the faculty council and the senate, or upon the minister's own initiative after consulting the rector."

b) In Paragraph 2 the expression "or upon own initiative after consulting the dean" is inserted at the end;

67) In Article 167:

a) In Paragraph 1 the expression "or to the position of research-instructionnal employee to another organizational unit engaging in research activities" is inserted after the expression "to another school."

b) In Paragraph 4 the expression "(the senate of the school from which the transfer is made and the academic council of the unit to which the transfer is made)" is inserted after the expression "the senates of both schools" and the expression "(the council of the concerned faculty and the concerned academic council)" is inserted at the end.

c) The following Paragraph 4a is inserted under Paragraph 4:

"4a. If so required by personnel training needs in a given region of the country, the appropriate minister may transfer, for a period of up to 2 years, a research-instructional employee without his consent to another higher school, with the right of resuming the previously held position. Such transfers may occur only once for a given position held."

d) In Paragraph 5 the expression "or an organizational unit engaging in research activities" is inserted in the second sentence after the expression "The school";

68) In Article 168, Paragraph 1, the expression "the school or its transformation" is supplanted by the expression "the school, a transformation of its structure or a change in the scope of its activities."

69) In Article 169:

a) In Paragraph 1:

-- in Point 4 the expression "or a docent" is supplanted by the expression "a docent, a senior licensed curator or a senior licensed documentalist," and the expression "on universal retirement benefits" is supplanted by the expression "on retirement benefits of employees and their families";

-- in Point 5 the expression "or docent" is supplanted by the expression "docent, senior licensed curator or senior licensed documentalist"; the expression "or a docent" is supplanted by the expression "or a docent, a senior licensed curator or a senior licensed documentalist"; and the expression "on universal retirement benefits" is supplanted with the expression "on retirement benefits for employees and their families";

-- Point 7 is reworded as follows:

"7) If the instructional or formative activity or other forms of public activity remain in glaring contrast with the basic obligations of the school employee, and particularly with the operating principles and tasks of the school as defined in Articles 1-3 and the requirements defined in Article 132, the termination for these reasons of the employment relationship with the person employed in the position of professor requires the consent of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers."

-- the following Point 8 is added:

"8) in the event of refusal to swear the oath."

b) The following Paragraph 1a is inserted under Paragraph 1:

"1a. In cases defined in Paragraph 1, Point 7, the professor may, with the consent of the appropriate minister, transfer to retired status despite failure to meet the requirements ensuing from the provisions governing retirement benefits for employees and their families."

c) Paragraph 2 is reworded as follows:

"2. In cases defined in Paragraph 1, Points 2, 3, 7 and 8, decisions on terminating the employment relationships are taken -- and in cases defined in Paragraph 1, Points 1 and 4-6, confirmed -- by the office empowered to make appointments to the position concerned."

70) In Article 170:

a) In Paragraph 1 the following Point 1a is inserted under Point 1:

"a) abandonment of work;"

b) Paragraph 2 is reworded as follows:

"2. An employment relationship with an adjunct professor, a senior assistant or an assistant may not be renewed if the employee, for reasons dependent on himself, fails to make sufficient progress in his academic growth or fails to achieve satisfactory results in his instructional and upbringing work. Such circumstances should ensue from evaluations performed in accordance with the procedure defined in Article 133. The concerned employee is notified of the results of his evaluation."

c) Paragraph 3 is deleted.

71) Article 171 is reworded as follows:

"Article 171. 1. In the event that, through the procedure defined in Article 133, a research-instructional employee is found to fail explicitly in the performance of his instructional, formative or research duties, his employement relationship can be terminated upon giving him a 3-month advance notice.

"2. The decision to terminate the employment relationship is taken by the office authorized to make appointments to the position concerned or by the appropriate minister";

72) The following Article 171a is inserted under Article 171:

"Article 171a. 1. "In cases of termination of an employment relationship originally contracted by means of an appointment, the research-instructional employee has the right to appeal to the Supreme Administrative Court on the principles and through the procedure defined in the Code of Administrative Proceedings.

"2. In other cases of claims relating to the employment relationship of research-instructional employes, the pertinent provisions of the Labor Code apply";

73) In Article 178:

a) In Paragraph 1 the expression "for a period of 5 years and may be extended for additional 5-year periods" is inserted after the expression "occurs" and the sentence "Positions to which indefinite appointments may be made are determined by the Minister of of Science and Higher Education" is added.

b) The following Paragraph 1a is added under Paragraph 1:

"1a. A person with a doctoral degree may, in particularly justified cases, be appointed to the position of senior lecturer for an indefinite period, upon the consent of the appropriate minister."

c) In Paragraph 2 the expression "defined" is supplanted by the expression "other than defined in Paragraph 1";

74) Article 179 is reworded as follows:

"Article 179. For instructional employees who hold their positions by virtue of an appointment the provisions of the following regulations apply correspondingly: Article 132, Paragraphs 1 and 2; Article 133; Article 144, Paragraph 1, Points 2-4, and Paragraph 3; Article 145, Paragraphs 1-3 and 7 and 8; Article 146, Paragraphs 1 and 3-5; Articles 148-150; Article 151, Paragraphs 1, 2, 4 and 5; Articles 152-157; Article 158, Paragraph 1, Point 1 (for senior lecturers and lecturers) and Point 2 for other employee categories, as well as Paragraphs 2-5; Articles 159, 162; Article 64, Paragraph 7; Articles 167 and 168; Article 169, Paragraph 1, Points 1-4 and 6-8, and Paragraphs 2 and 3; Article 170, Paragraph 1, Points 1-3, 5 and 6, and Paragraphs 2 and 4; and Articles 171 and 171a."

75) In Article 181 Paragraph 2 is reworded as follows:

"2. For persons holding the positions of scientific associates at the school the provisions concerning research-instructional employees apply correspondingly, with the exception of Article 131, Paragraph 3; Articles 141-143, 145, 146; Article 151, Paragraphs 2-4; and Article 163."

76) In Article 193 the term "aliens" is supplanted by the expression "persons who are not Polish citizens", and the expression "issued after consulting the Main Council and in cooperation with trade unions" is deleted.

77) In Article 198:

a) In Paragraph 1, Point 2, the expression "in cooperation with the appropriate ministers" is added at the end.

b) In Paragraph 3 the last sentence is deleted.

c) Paragraph 4 is reworded as follows:

"4. the senate of the school or the Main Council may request the rector or the Minister of Science and Higher Education to recommend to the disciplinary agency that it conduct clarificatory proceedings";

78) In Article 199:

a) Paragraph 1 is reworded as follows:

"1. In the course of the clarificatory proceedings the rector may, upon consulting the disciplinary spokesman, suspend the school employee from performance of official duties if so indicated by the gravity and credibility of the accusations and if continued exercise of these duties by the accused would complicate the clarification of of the matter."

b) In Paragraph 2 the expression "also in the absence of a recommendation from the disciplinary spokesman" is deleted and the sentence "This right also belongs to the rector" is added at the end.

c) Paragraph 4 is reworded as follows:

"4. The accused has the right to appeal the rector's decision to suspend him to the appropriate minister. The accused has the right to appeal to the [higher] disciplinary commission under the Main Council the decision of the disciplinary commission to suspend him/her.

79) In Article 202, Paragraph 1, the following second sentence is added: "The initiation of disciplinary proceedings sets in with the moment the disciplinary spokesman recommends penalization."

80) In Article 212 the expression "upon obtaining an opinion from the Main Council" is deleted;

81) Articles 219 and 225 are deleted;

82) In Article 229a the expression "and introduce separate regulations in this respect" is added at the end;

83) The expression "Minister of Science, Technology and Higher Education," employed in various cases is supplanted by the expression "Minister of Science and Higher Education," used in the same cases.

Article 2. Higher-school rectors shall, within 6 months from the date of promulgation of the model statute by the Minister of Science and Higher Science and Higher Education, submit to the appropriate ministers proposals for the approval of school statutes. Until the new statutes become effective, the provisions of previous statutes remain in force to the extent to which they do not conflict with the law.

Article 3. The official terms of the Main Council for Science and Higher Education, the Council for Higher Medical Education, the Council for Higher Arts Education and the Council for Higher Education in Physical Culture, operating on the day this Decree becomes effective, end on the day of 30 November 1985.

Article 4. The provisions of Article 21, Paragraph 2, Point 10, of the Decree on Higher Education, as revised in the present Decree, apply, to the extent specified in Article 1, Point 4, a), and Point 50, b) as of the day of the election of the Main Concil for Science and Higher Education and the beginning of its official term, pursuant to the provisions of this Decree.

Article 5. 1. The collegial bodies of higher schools shall, until the school statutes become effective through the procedure defined in the provisions of this Decree, operate on the basis of their membership as defined in this Decree but without elected members, with the proviso of Paragraph 2 below.

2. The professors and docents acting as currently elected senate members retain their membership, regardless of their number, until the school statutes become effective.

Article 6. 1. Persons exercising on the day this Decree becomes effective the functions of higher-school heads and their deputies, as well as of directors and deputy directors of organizational units of the schools exercise

these functions until the expiration of their term of office, with the proviso of Paragraph 2 below.

2. The appropriate minister or rector may, by 30 November 1985, declare in writing that he does not confirm the exercise of functions by one or more individuals referred to in Paragraph 1 above; in this case such an individual or individuals exercise his/their functions only until 30 November 1985 and, in the case of a rector, another person is appointed by the appropriate minister for the remainder of the official term; in the case of a prorector, by the appropriate minister upon the recommendation of the rector; and in the case of the other posts, by the rector upon the consent of the appropriate minister.

Article 7. The previous student self-government regulations are abrogated as of the day on which this Decree becomes effective. On that day also the official terms of the institutional, departmental and institute student self-government organs are considered as expired.

Article 8. Student organizations and associations shall submit requests for their registration pursuant to the provisions of this Decree within 6 months from its effective date.

Article 9. 1. The employment relationship of research-instructional personnel, scientific associates and instructional personnel that had existed prior to the effective date of this Decree becomes by virtue of law, with the proviso of Paragraphs 2-5 below, an employment relationship contracted pursuant to the provisions of this Decree.

2. The employment relationship of adjunct professors appointed for 5 years prior to the effective date of this Decree lasts until the end of that period, provided that the total period of employment in the position of adjunct professor may not exceed 9 years. The provisions of Article 1, Point 65, d), apply correspondingly.

3. The employment relationship of adjunct professors with habilitated doctoral degrees, appointed for an indefinite period prior to the effective date of this Decree, remains unchanged.

4. The employment relationship of adjunct professors with doctoral degrees, appointed for an indefinite period prior to the effective date of this Decree, lasts for 5 years from the date of their appointment, and the total period of employment in the position of adjunct professor may not exceed 9 years. The provisions of Article 1, Point 65, d), apply correspondingly.

5. If, pursuant to Paragraph 1 above, the termination of employment relationship occurs prior to 31 December 1985, the period of employment may be extended to that date. In such cases the period of subsequent employment is correspondingly shortened.

Article 10. 1. The period of employment considered in Article 1, Point 65, c), is figured on the basis of previous regulations and the provisions of this Decree.

2. The period of employment in the position of adjunct professor following 31 August 1982 is credited to the period of employment considered in Article 1, Point 65, c), and Article 9, Paragraphs 2 and 4.

Article 11. In the Decree of 29 March 1962 on Assemblies (DZIENNIK USTAW, Item 89, No 20, 1971; Item 115, No 12, 1971; and Item 113, No 14, 1982):

a) The designation "Paragraph 1" is deleted.

b) Paragraph 2 is deleted.

Article 12. In the Ordinance of 27 October 1932 of the President of the Republic on the Law of Associations (DZIENNIK USTAW, Item 808, No 94, 1932; Item 30, No 4, 1946; Item 293, No 41, 1949; Item 335, No 45, 1949; Item 401, No 44, 1950; Item 489, No 53, 1950; and Item 276, No 41, 1964), in Article 9, e), the expression "academic associations founded in accordance with the regulations governing academic schools and" is deleted.

Article 13. In the Decree of 21 July 1983 on Special Legal Regulations in the Period of Overcoming the Socioeconomic Crisis and on the Revisions of Certain Decrees (DZIENNIK USTAW, Item 176, No 39, and Item 318, No 71) the following revisions are introduced:

1) Articles 4 and 13 and Paragraph 2 in Article 15 are deleted;

2) In Article 16 the expression "and for student assemblies" is deleted.

Article 14. The Minister of Science and Higher Education shall publish in DZIENNIK USTAW the definitive text of the Decree on Higher Education with allowance for changes ensuing from the regulations announced prior to the day of issuance of the definitive text and upon perserving the sequential numbering of articles, paragraphs and points.

Article 15. This Decree becomes effective on the day of its publication.

Chairman of the Council of State: H. Jablonski
Secretary of the Council of State: J. Szymanek

## Amendments to the Law on Academic Degrees

Warsaw DZIENNIK USTAW in Polish No 36, Item 168, 12 Aug 85 pp 439-445

[Text of decree: "Decree of 25 July 1985 on Revisions in the Decree on Academic Degrees and Titles"]

[Text] Article 1. [1.] The following changes are introduced in the Decree of 31 March 1965 on Academic Degrees and Titles (DZIENNIK USTAW, Item 192, No 32, 1973; and Item 113, No 14, 1982):

1) Article 2 is reworded as follows:

"Article 2. Doctoral and habilitational degrees are conferred by faculties and institutes of higher schools, scientific centers of the Polish Academy of Sciences, scientific research institutes, and the autonomous centers of research-instructional type empowered to confer them, hereinafter referred to as "organizational units."

2) The following Articles 2a-2e are inserted under Article 2:

"Article 2a. 1. The right to confer doctoral degrees may be received by an organizational unit which:

"1) employs at least eight persons with academic titles [or persons with doctoral] degrees having the rank of docent and representing the academic orientation with respect to which the unit is competent to confer degrees, provided that the number of employees with academic titles or with the habilitated doctoral degree is not smaller than five;

"2) has had its level of academic activity positively evaluated by the Central Certification Commission for Academic Personnel, hereinafter referred to as the Central Certification Commission, upon the recommendation of the office authorized to decide on granting the right to confer decrees.

"2. The right to confer habilitated doctoral degrees may be received by an organizational unit which:

"1) employs at least 12 persons with academic titles or holding the rank of docent with a habilitated doctoral degree, representing the academic orientation with respect to which the unit is competent to confer degrees, provided that the number of persons with academic titles is not smaller than six;

"2) has had its level of academic activity positively evaluated by the Central Certification Commission, upon the recommendation of the office authorized to decide on granting the right to confer decrees.

"3. The right confer academic decree applies only to the scientific diciplines which, in a given organizational unit, are represenhted by at least five employees holding scientific titles or habilitated doctoral degrees.

"4. For persons referred to in Paragraph 1, Point 1, and Paragraph 2, Point 1, the organizational unit employing them is their principal workplace.

"Article 2b. 1. The right referred to in Article 2a is granted in cooperation with the Central Certification Commission by:

"1) the Minister of Science and Higher Education in cooperation with the Main Council for Science and Higher Education, with respect to higher-school organizational units, upon the recommendation of the minister exercising supervision over the particular higher school concerned;

"2) the Scientific Secretary of the Polish Academy of Sciences [PAN], with respect to the PAN's institutions, in cooperation with the Minister of Science and Higher Education;

"3) The Minister of Science and Higher Education, with respect to other organizational units, upon the recommendation of the minister exercising supervision over a particular organizational unit.

"2. In particularly warranted cases the right to confer scientific degrees may be granted to an organizational unit that does not meet the criteria specified in Article 2a, Paragraph 1, Point 1, and Article 2, Point 1, on formulating new criteria for exercising that right. The provisions of Article 2c apply correspondingly.

"3. The list of the organizational units authorized to confer academic degrees is, together with appellations of the academic degrees conferred as well as with a list of the fields of science and scientific disciplines with respect to which academic degrees may be conferred, issued by the Minister of Science and Higher Education.

"4. The principles and procedure for submitting recommendations for the granting of academic degrees are defined by means of an ordinance by the Minister of Science and Higher Education in cooperation with the Scientific Secretary of the Polish Academy of Sciences and the Central Certification Commission.

"Article 2c. 1. The right to confer academic degrees becomes legally suspended as of the day on which the number of the employees of an organizational unit who hold an academic title or the habilitated doctoral degree decreases below the minimum specified in Article 2a, Paragraph 1, Point 1; Paragraph 2, Point 1; and Paragraph 3.

"2. The handling of the completion of the proceedings for doctoral and habilitated doctoral degrees that were initiated prior to the day referred to in Paragraph 1 will be decided upon by the Minister of Science and

Higher Education in cooperation with the Central Certification Commission.

"3. The organizational unit exercising the right to confer academic degrees shall immediately notify the Minister of Science and Higher Education and, if the unit is part of the Polish Academy of Sciences, the Scientific Secretary of the Polish Academy of Sciences, about any changes in its level of employment that affect this right.

"Article 2d. 1. The Central Certification Commission periodically evaluates the academic level of doctoral and habilitational dissertations and, if the need arises, also the level of academic activity constituting the basis for the conferral of academic degrees by an organizational unit, and also the validity of the resolutions adopted in this respect. These evaluations shall be performed by the Central Certification Commission on its own initiative or on the recommendation of the Minister of Science and Higher Education, or by another minister exercising supervision over the higher school, research institute or autonomous research-instructional center, and by the Scientific Secretary of the Polish Academy of Sciences with respect to that center.

"2. If the evaluation referred to in Paragraph 1 is negative, the Central Certification Commission immediately notifies accordingly the concerned organizational unit as well as the office granting the right to confer academic degrees; within 6 months from the day that notification is made, said office may:

"1) revoke the right;

"2) curtail the right by placing the organizational unit under the obligation of submitting all of its resolutions to confer doctoral degrees for approval to the Central Certification Commission;

"3. In the event the right is revoked, activities relating to the completion of current doctoral and habilitational degree proceedings will be handled by organizational units specified by the office referred to in Paragraph 2.

"4. The office which has revoked or curtailed the right is obligated to reconsider the matter if the concerned organizational unit submits additional information that had not been known when the right was revoked or curtailed;

"5. Recovery of the right or another revocation of the right occurs on the principles and through the procedure applicable when that right had been originally conferred;

"Article 2e. In the absence of an organizational unit needed to handle doctoral or habilitational degree proceedings, and also in the event that the unit authorized to confer academic degrees in a particular field cannot handle the related proceedings owing to the absence of the minimum number -- as specified in Article 2a, Paragraph 3, of persons holding academic titles or the habilitated doctoral degree in the discipline corresponding to the scope of the doctoral or habilitational dissertation concerned, the Central Certification Commission may, acting upon a recommendation by a faculty council (or an academic council) or upon its own initiative, in cooperation with the Minister of Science and Higher Education or with the Scientific Secretary of the Polish Academy of Sciences when the latter's centers are concerned, consent to complementing the membership of the faculty council (or academic council, of the organizational unit concerned) with persons who are not members of that council. Such persons have the rights of a member of the faculty (academic) council in matters relating to the proceedings for a doctoral or habilitational degree."

3) In Article 4, Paragraph 1:

-- in Point 2 the expression "and" is supplanted by a comma;

-- in Point 3 the period is supplanted by a comma;

-- the following Point 4 is added:

"4) displays an irreproachable attitude as a citizen."

4) In Article 6, Point 3, the expression "and in units of the research-instructional type" is deleted.

5) Article 7 is reworded as follows:

"Article 1. 1. Organizational units authorized to confer habilitated doctoral degrees may, upon the approval of the Minister of Science and Higher Education, offer doctoral studies.

"2. Stationary doctoral students have the rights of employees. The provisions of Article 12, Paragraph 2, do not apply to such persons."

6) The following Article 7a is inserted under Article 7:

"Article 7a. Persons preparing to complete doctoral studies may be granted academic stipends."

7) Article 9 is reworded as follows:

"Article 9. Eligible applicants for habilitation proceedings have to be persons with doctoral degrees who:

"1) have scored substantial academic accomplishments;

"2) submitted a habilitation dissertation

"3) display an irreproachable attitude as citizens."

8) In Article 10:

a) Paragraphs 2 and 3 are reworded as follows:

"2. The habilitation dissertation should be a specially written work published in part or in its entirety; publishing is construed here as making this work accessible in some other way to the academic community, and particularly to specialists in the discipline concerned. It may also be a monothematic series of autonomous original articles published in academic or scientific periodicals and representing part of the academic accomplishments of the applicant for the habilitated doctoral degree, attained subsequent to his earning the doctoral degree.

"3. The habilitation dissertation may be an original and implemented project, design or technological accomplishment, if it is linked to the solution of a major academic or scientific problem."

b) The following Paragraphs 4-6 are added:

"4. The habilitation dissertation may be a part of a teamwork project, if the work on a particular problem represents the personal contribution of the applicant for the habilitated doctoral degree, meeting the requirements defined in Paragraph 1.

"5. The faculty council (academic council) may waive the duty of submitting the dissertation in the published form referred to in Paragraph 2 if it has been accepted for publication. In this case the publication represents a requirement for the approval by the Central Certification Commission of the resolution of the faculty council (academic council) to confer the habilitated doctoral degree.

"6. The obligation to publish does not apply to habilitation dissertations dealing with subjects covered by state or official secrets."

9) In Article 11:

a) The designation "Paragraph 1" and the expression "and in units of the scientific research type" used in Point 3 are deleted.

b) Paragraph 2 is deleted.

10) The following Articles 11a -- 11g are added under Article 11:

"Article 11a. 1. Doctoral and habilitation proceedings culminate in resolutions of the faculty council (academic council).

"2. The resolutions referred to in Paragraph 1 are valid if they are adopted by secret balloting in the presence of at least one-half of the persons authorized to vote, and if a majority of the votes supports the resolution.

"Article 11b. 1. Persons authorized to vote on matters relating to the conferral of academic degrees are:

"1) As regards doctoral degree proceedings:

"a) members of the faculty (or academic) council who hold academic titles and docents having the

"b) persons invited to complement the membership of the council (pursuant to Article 2e);

"c) the applicant's dissertation adviser and members of the dissertation committee;

"2) As regards habilitation proceedings:

"a) members of the faculty (or academic) council who hold academic titles and docents having the doctoral or habilitated doctoral degree;

"b) persons invited to complement the membership of the council (pursuant to Article 2e);

"c) members of the dissertation committee.

"2. The dissertation adviser may be a person who holds an academic title or a docent having the doctoral or the habilitated doctoral degree.

"3. Members of the doctoral dissertation committee may be persons who hold academic titles or docents having the doctoral or habilitated doctoral degree, while members of the habilitated doctoral dissertation committee may be persons who hold academic titles or docents having the habilitated doctoral degree.

"Article 11c. 1. Applicants for academic degrees have the right to appeal the resolutions of the faculty council (academic council) when these decline to:

"1) commence doctoral proceedings;

"2) accept the doctoral dissertation;

"3) confer the doctoral degree;

"4) commence habilitation proceedings;

"5) admit to the habilitation examination;

"6) confer the habilitated doctoral degree.

"2. The appeal is submitted to the Central Certification Commnission through the mediation of the faculty council (academic council) within a month from the day the claimant is notified of the contents of the resolution. The council transmits the appeal to the Central Certification Commission together with its opinion and the minutes of degree proceedings within 3 months from the date the appeal is made.

"3. On considering the appeal, within not more than 6 months, the Central Certification Commission either sustains the resolution being appealed against or waives it and transmits the matter for reconsideration to the faculty council (academic council) of another organizational unit.

"4. The Central Certification Commission transmits notice of its decision to the person making the appeal as well as to the concerned faculty council (academic council).

"Article 11d 1. The resolution to confer an academic degree becomes valid if no objection thereto is made by:

"1) The minister exercising supervision over the concerned higher school, scientific research institute or autonomous center of the research-instructional type which conducts the doctoral proceedings.

"2) The Scientific Secretary of the Polish Academy of Sciences, if the doctoral proceedings are conducted at an institution of the Polish Academy of Sciences.

"2. The objection may be offered within 2 months from the day the resolution to confer the doctoral degree is transmitted together with the minutes of doctoral proceedings.

"3. In the event that a organizational unit's right to confer academic degrees is curtailed, as specified in Article 2d, Paragraph 2, Point 2, or the objection defined in Paragraph 2 above is offered, the resolution to confer an academic degree becomes valid the moment it is confirmed by the Central Certification Commission.

"4. The resolution or objection referred to in Paragraph 3 above should be submitted to the Central Certification Commission together with the minutes of doctoral proceedings within a month from the day the resolution is adopted or the objection offered.

"5. The confirmation of the resolution to confer an academic degree in cases referred to in Paragraphs 1-4 above is decided upon by the Central Certification Commission within 6 months from the day the resolution is received.

"Article 11e. 1. A resolution to confer a habilitated doctoral degree degree becomes valid the moment it is confirmed by the Central Certification Commission. The provisions of Article 11d, Paragraph 4, apply correspondingly.

"2. The confirmation of a resolution to confer the habilitated doctoral degree is decided upon by the Central Certification Commission within 6 months from the date of receipt of the resolution together with minutes of habilitation proceedings.

"3. In the event of failure to confirm a resolution to confer a habilitated doctoral degree, the faculty council (academic council) may, within 3 months from the date it is notified of this decision, propose to the Central Certification Commission that it reconsider the matter.

"4. Before the final decision is taken on the matter referred to in Paragraph 3 above, the Central Certification Commission may promote an exchange of views among members of the concerned dissertation committee.

"Article 11f. If the Central Certification Commission fails to decide on these matters within the period specified in this Decree, it is dutybound to notify the concerned organizational unit

of the reasons for the delay and specify a new deadline for deciding on the matter.

"Article 11g. 1. The resolution to confer a doctoral or a habilitated doctoral degree may be invalidated in the event it is found that the doctoral or habilitation dissertation substantively violates the auctorial property rights of other persons.

"2. The provisions of Paragraph 1 above do not apply if more than 10 years have elapsed since the conferral of the doctoral or habilitated doctoral degree.

"3. The proper agency for invalidating a resolution to confer an academic degree is the Central Certification Commission.

"4. Proceedings to invalidate a resolution are initiated ex officio or on the recommendation of:

"1) the person whose auctorial rights are violated, or his/her legal heirs;

"2) the faculty council (academic council) which had adopted the original resolution to confer the degree, or the faculty council (academic council) of the organizational unit employing the person on whom the academic degree was conferred;

"3) the minister supervising the concerned higher school, scientific research institute or autonomous center of the research-instructional type, or the Scientific Secretary of the Polish Academy of Sciences.

"5. Notice of the initiation of proceedings to invalidate the resolution to confer the academic degree is sent by the Central Certification Commission to the person whom the accusations concern: that person has the right to submit written explanations and offer evidence in his/her defense. Notice of the initiation of invalidation proceedings also is sent to the faculty council (academic council) which had conferred that degree.

"6. Notice of the invalidation of the resolution to confer the academic degree is sent by the Central Certification Commission to the faculty council (academic council) which had conferred that degree."

11) The original text of Article 12 is now designated as Paragraph 1 and the following Paragraph 2 is added:

"2. An employee who is neither an academic instructor nor a research-instructional employee but who is preparing a doctoral or habilitation dissertation is entitled to a paid leave of a duration equal to 28 work days in order to work on the doctoral or habilitation dissertation, as well as to a paid work release for the purpose of conducting the defense of his/her doctoral or habilitation dissertation."

12) In Article 14:

a) Paragraph 1 is deleted;

b) In Paragraph 2, Point 2, the expression "engaging in doctoral studies" is replaced with the expression "recruiting for doctoral studies, conducting and accomplishing these studies, the scope of employee rights";

c) Paragraph 3 is reworded as follows:

"3. The Minister of Science and Higher Education, in cooperation with the Scientific Secretary of the Polish Academy of Sciences, defines the specific conditions and procedure for conducting doctoral and habilitation proceedings as well as the scope of doctoral and habilitation examinations."

13) Article 15 is reworded as follows:

"Article 15. 1. The provisions of this Decree regarding the conferral of academic degrees apply to higher military schools and military scientific research institutes, with allowance for the following particular regulations:

"1) the right to confer academic degrees in the military sciences is granted to the faculties or other organizational units of higher military schools and military research institutes or their organizational units by the Minister of National Defense after consulting the Council for Higher Military Education; in justified instances the right to confer academic degrees in the military sciences can be granted to the academic councils of higher military schools;

"2) in cases referred to in Article 4, Paragraph 3, the Minister of National Defense may permit studies for the doctoral degree in the military sciences upon consulting the Council for Higher Military Education.

"3) the agency of appeal in cases relating to the resolutions adopted on doctoral or habilitation proceedings in the military sciences is the Council for Higher Military Education;

"4) the agency confirming the resolution to confer the habilitated doctoral degree in the military sciences is the Council for Higher Military Education;

"5) the Certification Commission of the Council for Higher Military Education guides itself in its activities by the principles and procedure binding on the Central Certification Commission;

"6) the principles for acknowledging the academic degrees in the military sciences that have been earned abroad as the equal of the academic degrees granted in this country are defined by the Minister of National Defense;

"7) the binding list of the academic disciplines in the field of the military sciences is determined by the Minister of National Defense in cooperation with the Minister of Science and Higher Education;

"8) the regulations referred to in Article 14, Paragraph 3, regarding higher military schools and military scientific research institutes, are issued by the Minister of National Defense.

"2. The powers, referred to in Paragraph 1, of the Minister of National Defense and the Council for Higher Military Education, belong correspondingly to the Minister of Internal Affairs and the Higher Education Council of the Ministry of Internal Affairs with respect to specialist scientific disciplines dealing with state security and public order as well as with fire safety.

14) In Article 17 the following Paragraph 6 is added:

"6. An academic title may be granted to a person who fully accepts the Constitutional systemic principles of the Polish People's Republic and guides himself/herself by them in his/her activities."

15) In Article 18:

a) Point 3 of Paragraph 2 is reworded as follows:

"3) the minister exercising jurisdiction or supervision over a scientific-research institute, when this concerns a person employed at that institute -- on the recommendation of the academic council of that institute;"

b) Point 2 of Paragraph 3 is reworded as follows:

"2) the Council for Higher Military Education or the Council for Higher Education at the Ministry of Internal Affairs with respect to, correspondingly, candidates for an academic title in the field of the military sciences or of specialist scientific disciplines concerning state security and public order as well as fire safety;"

c) In Paragraph 4 the expression "or a unit of the research-instructional type" is deleted.

16) Chapter 3 is reworded as follows:

"Chapter 3

"The Central Certification Commission for Academic Personnel

"Article 20. The Central Certification Commission operates under the Chairman of the Council of Ministers.

"Article 21. 1. From 180 to 260 eminent scientists holding academic titles are appointed to membership in the Central Certification Commission.

"2. Participation by representatives of main academic disciplines in the Central Certification Commission should be assured.

"3. Members of the Central Certification Commission are appointed by the Chairman of the Council of Ministers upon the recommendation of the Minister of Science and Higher Education in cooperation with the Scientific Secretary of the Polish Academy of Sciences and the ministers supervising the organizational units employing these persons.

"4. The term of office of the Central Certification Commission is 3 years. In warranted cases the Chairman of the Council of Ministers may prolong the term of office of the Central Certification Commission, but for not longer than one year.

"Article 22. 1. Candidates for members of the Central Certification Commission for its new term of office are identified through a poll conducted by the Central Certification Commission among all persons holding academic titles. Each of these persons has the right to nominate one or two candidates representing the same or allied academic discipline.

"2. The Minister of Science and Higher Education in cooperation with the Scientific Secretary of the Polish Academy of Science and on guiding himself by the results of the poll submits to the Chairman of the Council of

Ministers a list of candidates for membership in the Central Certification Commission.

"3. If the need arises to assure representation by the main academic disciplines, the Minister of Science and Higher Education, may, in cooperation with the Scientific Secretary of the Polish Academy of Sciences place on the list of candidates for membership in the Central Certification Commission persons whose candidacy did not emerge as a result of the poll.

"Article 23. 1. The Presidium of the Central Certification Commission is the office representing that commission in its outside contacts.

"2. The Presidium of the Central Certification Commission consists of:

"1) the chairman of the Central Certification Commission;

"2) the vice chairmen;

"3) the secretary;

"4) the section chairmen;

"5) members.

"Article 24. 1. The chairman of the Central Certification Commission, the vice chairmen and the secretary are appointed by the Chairman of the Council of Ministers upon the recommendation of the Minister of Science and Higher Education, in cooperation with the Scientific Secretary of the Polish Academy of Sciences.

"2. The section chairmen and the members of the Presidium of the Central Certification Commission are selected through election from among members of the Central Certification Commission.

"3. The chairman of the Central Certification Commission, the vice chairmen and the secretary may be subject to permanent appointment.

"Article 24a. The organization and operating procedures of the Central Certification Commission, the scope of activities of its bodies, and the rules for the remuneration of its permanently officiating members are determined by the Chairman of the Council of Ministers.

"Article 24b. The tasks of the Central Certification Commission include, in

particular:

"1) with respect to matters relating to academic degrees:

"a) issuance of opinions concerning the conferral, suspension, curtailment or revocation of the right to confer academic degrees;

"b) evaluation of the performance of the organizational units authorized to confer academic degrees, of the level of doctoral and habilitation dissertations and of the correctness of the conduct of doctoral and habilitation proceedings;

"c) confirmation of the resolutions of faculty councils (academic councilks) conferring habilitated doctoral degrees, consideration of requests for reconsidering the matter in the event of nonconfirmation of these resolutions;

"d) decision on appeals against resolutions of faculty councils (academic councils) regarding doctoral and habilitation proceedings;

"e) confirmation of conferred habilitated doctoral degrees;

"2) with respect to matters concerning academic titles -- issuance of opinions on recommendations for the conferral of academic titles;

"3) with respect to matters concerning the appointment to docent rank of persons lacking the habilitated doctoral degree -- evaluation of the qualifications of candidates lacking the habilitated doctoral degree."

17) The title of Chapter 4 is reworded as follows:

"Chapter 4

"Special, Interim and Final Provisions"

18) Article 25 is reworded as follows:

"Article 25. The provisions of the Code of Administrative Proceedings do not apply to the matters within the scope regulated by this Decree."

19) The following Articles 28a and 28b are added after Article 28:

"Article 28a. Whenever this Decree refers to the faculty council, this also is construed to mean the senate in single-faculty schools;

"Article 28b. The provisions of this Decree apply correspondingly to aliens who are candidates for academic degrees or titles."

20) The expression, employed in various cases, "the Minister of Science, Higher Education and Technology" is replaced by the expression, used in the same cases, "the Minister of Science and Higher Education."

Article 2. 1. The organizational units that are, on the basis of previous regulations, authorized to confer academic degrees, retain this authorization for 2 years since the effective date of this Decree.

2. After the period referred to in Paragraph 1 above expires, the right to confer academic degrees is granted by the procedure and on the principles defined in this Decree.

Article 3. The currently operating Central Certification Commission for Academic Personnel shall continue its operations until the end of the official term for which it was appointed.

Article 4. The Minister of Science and Higher Education shall publish in DZIENNIK USTAW the definitive text of the Decree on Academic Degrees and Academic Titles, with allowance for the changes ensuing from the regulations promulgated prior to the date of issuance of the definitive text and upon adhering to a sequential numbering of articles, paragraphs, points and letters.

Article 5. This Decree becomes effective on the day of its publication.

Chairman of the Council of State: H. Jablonski
Secretary of the Council of State: J. Szymanek

Ministry of Science and Higher Education

Warsaw DZIENNIK USTAW in Polish No 36, Item 169, 12 Aug 85 pp 445-447

[Text of decree: "Decree of 25 July 1985 on the Office of the Minister of Science and Higher Education"]

[Text] Article 1. The Minister of Science and Higher Education is the supreme organ of state administration as regards the development of science, academic and science personnel, and higher education.

Article 2. The Minister of Science and Higher Education:

1) assures the conditions indispensable to the development of discrete fields of science;

2) organizes the education and upbringing of academic personnel at a high merit-based, civic and ethical level and assures the indispensable academic, organizational and material conditions for its development;

3) provides the conditions for the education and upbringing of students with the object of preparing them for participation in the development of the socialist state and the national economy and culture;

4) organizes health care and social services for academic youth;

5) provides higher schools with every assistance in their activities and development.

Article 3. 1. The scope of activities of the Minister of Science and Higher Education includes matters relating to:

1) development of science

2) upbringing, education and advanced training of academic personnel;

3) conferral of academic degrees and academic titles;

4) higher-level education and upbringing of students;

5) advanced professional training of employees with higher educational background by higher schools;

6) overall supervision of the nation's archival resources;

7) publishing policy as regards scientific and academic-instructional publications;

8) subjects defined in separate decree provisions.

2. As regards the development of science the Minister of Science and Higher Education:

1) prepares draft assumptions of the state's policy on science;

2) prepares forecasts for the development of science;

3) coordinates matters relating to the funding, implementation and monitoring of the central research programs entrusted to him as well as of -- in cooperation with the Polish Academy of Sciences -- the basic and applied research not comprised in these programs;

4) assures the provision of material conditions for the development of research laboratories.

3. As regards higher education, the Minister of Science and Higher Education:

1) offers recommendations concerning the establishment, disbanding, mergers and transformations of higher schools;

2) prepares, in accordance with the provisions of longrange plans, national socioeconomic plans and central annual plans, drafts of:

a) main directions of scientific research and the training and development of personnel in the field of higher education;

b) research plans for higher education;

3) determines:

a) longrange and periodic plans for the development of higher education;

b) principles for the organization of studies;

c) directions and principles of personnel and social policies in higher education.

4. With respect to the higher schools subordinate to him the Minister of Science and Higher Education:

1) determines:

a) the principles and limits of admissions to the freshman year;

b) the principles for drafting study plans and curriculums;

c) specific principles for the funding of the scientific research conducted at higher schools and principles for cooperation between higher schools and units of the national economy and other institutions;

d) principles for cooperation between higher schools and foreign centers.

2) confirms study plans, curricula and upbringing programs;

3) performs the allocation of funds and material resources among higher schools.

5. The scope of activities of the Minister of Science and Higher Education includes:

1) participation in the drafting and implementation of longrange plans, national socioeconomic plans and central annual plans;

2) foreign cooperation;

3) organization of a science information system.

6. The Minister of Science and Higher Education implements the tasks ensuing from this decree with allowance for the competences of other supreme and central agencies of the state administration as well as the Polish Academy of Sciences.

Article 4. 1. As part of his exercise of supervision and control over the higher schools subordinate to him the Minister of Science and Higher Education may:

1) inspect the activities of the schools and demand appropriate explanations from school offices and collegial bodies operating in schools pursuant to the provisions of the decree on higher education or the school statute, hereinafter referred to as "other collegial bodies";

2) in the event of inertia in implementing the findings of the inspection, issue to school offices recommendations to eliminate the identified violations of the law or of important social interests.

2. To assure a fuller participation of higher schools in the cause of a broad development of science, culture and the national economy, as well as in consideration of important social interests, the Minister of Science and Higher Education may, upon consulting the rector and the senate, impose on a subordinate higher school the duty of implementing a particular scientific or instructional task, on indicating the material resources for its implementation; he may also introduce appropriate revisions in the school's material-financial plan.

3. With the object of streamlining employment at higher schools and adapting their organizational structure to the scope of their instructional, upbringing and academic tasks, the Minister of Science and Higher Education may, upon consulting the rector and the senate, define the standards for staffing a school or its discrete organizational units, as well as introduce changes in the school's organizational structure.

4. In the event of a glaring violation of the law or of important social interests at a subordinate higher school, the Minister of Science and Higher Education recommends to appropriate offices of the school the elimination of the identified violations before a fixed deadline; in the event that deadline expires without anything effective being done, he may, depending on the nature of these violations:

1) waive or halt the implementation of a resolution or decision of the school's offices or bodies;

2) recall from his/her post the person exercising the duties of a top administrator or deputy, or of the director or deputy director of an organizational unit at the school, or a person who is an elected member of a collegial organ or other collegial body;

3) suspend for a time the constituent rights of a collegial organ or other collegial body at the school or disband it;

4) suspend for a definite period instructional activities or operation or disband an organizational unit at the school;

5) suspend the applicability of specified provisions of the school statute and at the same time define the operating procedure on matters regulated by these provisions.

5. Decisions of the Minister of Science and Higher Education on matters referred to in Paragraph 4 above may be appealed to the Supreme Administrative Court on the principles and through the procedure defined in the Code of Administrative Proceedings.

Article 5. Implementing the state's policy so far as the scope of his activities is concerned, the Minister of Science and Higher Education coordinates the activities of other agencies of state administration and exercises supervision over his subordinate state organizational units and state enterprises for which his office is the parent agency.

Article 6. Within the scope of his competences the Minister of Science and Higher Education:

1) cooperates with supreme and central bodies of state administration and the Polish Academy of Sciences;

2) cooperates -- to the extent and on principles defined by separate regulations -- with the Main Council for Science and Higher Education, the Central Certification Commission for Academic Personnel, trade unions, scientific associations and other social organizations.

Article 7. 1. The Council of Ministers shall, by way of an ordinance, define the particular scope of action of the Minister of Science and Higher Education.

2. The organizational structure of the Ministry of Science and Higher Education and the organizational units subordinated to the Minister of Science and Higher Education are defined in the statute granted by the Council of Ministers.

Article 8. The Decree of 29 March 1972 on the Establishment of the Office of the Minister of Science and Higher Education (DZIENNIK USTAW, Item 70, No 11, 1972; and Item 280, No 55, 1984) is hereby abrogated.

Article 9. This Decree becomes effective on the day of its publication.

Chairman of the Council of State: H. Jablonski
Secretary of the Council of State: J.Szymanek

## R&D Organizations

Warsaw DZIENNIK USTAW in Polish No 36, Item 170, 12 Aug 85 pp 447-457

[Text of decree: "Decree of 25 July 1985 on Research and Development Oreganizations"]

[Text] In order to deepen the integration of science with practice, accelerate progress in science and technology and enhance their effect on the country's socioeconomic development, the following is hereby established:

### Chapter 1

### General Provisions

Article 1. 1. R&D organizations as construed by this Decree are the state organizational units that constitute entities from the legal, organizational and economic-financial standpoints and that are established with the object of conducting scientific research and research-and-development work whose results should find application in particular fields of the national economy and societal life.

2. R&D organizations are:

1) scientific research institutes;

2) R&D centers, central laboratories and other organizational units whose main purpose is to conduct the activities referred to in Paragraph 1 above.

3. R&D organizations are legal entities.

4. The provisions of this Decree do not apply to the scientific institutes of higher schools and the institutions of the Polish Academy of Sciences.

Article 2. 1. R&D organizations provide conditions favorable to the creative and professional growth of their staffs as well as to shaping socialist labor relations and principles of social coexistence.

2. The tasks of R&D organizations include in particular:

1) the conduct of scientific and R&D work and the adaptation of its results to practical applications;

2) the dissemination of the findings of scientific research and development work;

3) active refinement of methods of conducting scientific research and R&D work;

4) the conduct of complementary activities, particularly as regards training; scientific, technical and economic information; inventions and the protection of industrial and intellectual property;

5) the preparation of analyses and assessments of the status and development of discrete fields of science and technology, as well as the drafting of proposals for utilizing in this country the achievements of world science and technology.

3. R&D organizations may perform the production of apparatus and equipment as well as undertake other economic or service-providing activities for domestic and export needs insofar as they belong within the scope of their activities.

4. R&D organizations granted the right to confer academic degrees as well as appropriate material-technical conditions may offer postgraduate studies.

Article 3. A R&D organization may be established if:

1) there arises a need to conduct in a given field the activities referred to in Article 2, Paragraph 2;

2) the following requirements, corresponding to the organization's nature and scope of action, are met:

a) a sufficient number of employees with suitable qualifications;

b) adequate research and laboratory apparatus, information potential and technical equipment and other indispensable material-technical conditions.

Article 4. 1. The nature and scope of activities of the R&D organization, its appellation and seat, and the agency exercising supervision over it, are defined in its founding act.

2. The agency founding the R&D organization provides it with the means needed to conduct the activities defined in its founding act.

3. The specific nature and scope of activities of the R&D organization are defined in its statute, granted by the agency exercising supervision over it.

4. The organizational structure of the R&D organizatio, corresponding to the nature and scope of its activities, is defined in the organizational regulations determined by its director.

Article 5. 1. The R&D organization may, by means of an agreement, join an association of state enterprises or associate itself with other R&D organizations.

2. The R&D organization may join a joint stock company and, by means of a contract with other domestic or foreign organizational units, engage in joint undertakings and establish experimental plants or other joint organizational cells.

3. The conditions for the formation of organizational units operating jointly with foreign organizations as well as their operating principles are determined by separate regulations.

## Chapter 2

## Formation, Mergers, Splitting, Transformation and Disbanding of R&D Organizations

Article 6. 1. The formation of a R&D organization with an inter-ministerial or intersubsector scope of activities takes place by means of a resolution of the Council of Ministers.

2. The formation of a R&D organization other than that defined in Paragraph 1 above occurs in cooperation with the Minister-Director of the Office for Science and Technology Progress and Applications and the Minister of Finance, by way of an ordinance issued by the appropriate minister, director of a central office, the chairman of Narodowy Bank Polski and the province governor acting to implement a resolution of the province people's council.

3. The formation of a R&D organization by an association of state enterprises occurs by way of an agreement concluded among the interested state enterprises and with the consent of the Minister-Director of the Office for Science and Technology Progress and Applications. Joint R&D organizations are formed and registered as limited responsibility companies pursuant to provisions of the Commercial Code.

Article 7. 1. R&D organizations may be merged, split up, transformed or disbanded through the procedure governing their formation.

2. The merger, splitting, transformation or disbanding of a R&D organization may occur if the organization fails to implement the tasks for which it was established, if it is not implementing these tasks efficiently, or if this is dictated by the prospect of lasting and measurable economic advantages.

3. The merger, splitting, transformation or disbanding of a R&D organization is ordered by its parent agency, upon the recommendation of the supervising agency, the Minister-Director of the Office for Science and Technology Progress and Application or the director of the R&D organization itself.

4. The Council of Ministers defines, by way of an ordinance, the specific conditions and procedure for the merger, splitting, transformation and disbanding of R&D organizations.

Article 8. 1. To promote a comprehensive solution of scientific and technological problems, accelerate the application of the results of R&D work to economic practice and conduct up-to-date manufacture of products or provision of services of major importance to the national economy, organizations of a multifunctional nature, hereinafter referred to as "science and production centers," may be established.

2. The formation of a science and production center also occurs through the merger of R&D organizations with other state economic organizations, particularly with production, design and experimental organizations.

3. A science and production center is a particular type of a multiplant state enterprise of basic importance to the national economy, and it operates pursuant to the provisions governing state enterprise, on applying the proviso of Paragraphs 5 and 6 below.

4. The R&D organizations that are part of a science and production center may operate as autonomous units conducting their own accounting on principles binding for R&D organizations.

5. The Council of Ministers, by way of an ordinance, defines:

1) the particular principles and procedure for forming science and production centers and the agencies authorized to establish them;

2) the applicability to science and production centers of the provisions of this Decree, with allowance for their special nature.

6. The Council of Minister may, by way of an ordinance, adapt to the particular nature of science and production centers the provisions governing state enterprises and the workforce self-government at these enterprises.

7. The science and production centers existing on the effective date of this Decree become science and production centers as construed by this Decree if, within 12 months from the effective date of this Decree, they adapt their organizational structure to the requirements ensuing from this Decree; in the event of failure to meet this condition, such science and production centers are subject to being shut down.

8. The Council of Ministers defines, by way of an ordinance, the particular principles and procedure for adapting the organizational structure of the units referred to in Paragraph 7 above to the requirements ensuing from this Decree, and the principles and procedure for disbanding the units referred to in the last sentence of Paragraph 7 above.

Article 9. 1. The R&D organization is subject to being entered in the registry of R&D organizations, hereinafter referred to as "the registry."

2. The registering agency is the court. The proper court for conducting the registration by the procedure defined in the provisions of the law concerning the structure of civil courts, is named by the Minister of Justice.

3. The application for entering a R&D organization in the registry is submitted together with: a copy of the organization's founding act as well as other documents whose submission is required by the implementing regulations issued on the basis of this Decree.

4. The registering agency verifies the legal conformity of the contents of the documents representing the basis for making an entry in the registry.

5. The registry is accessible to persons who have a legal interest in it, with the exception of data that are covered by state or service secrets.

6. The R&D organization becomes a legal entity once it is entered in the registry.

7. The Council of Ministers defines, by way of an ordinance, the principles and procedure for keeping the registry of R&D organizations, the data subject to being entered in that registry, the requirements to be met by the application for registration, the procedure for making entries, revisions and deletions in the registry, and the principles for providing access to the registry as well as the requirements for issuing copies and extracts from that registry.

## Chapter 3

## Principles of the Management of R&D Organizations

Article 10. 1. The R&D organization manages independently its allotted or acquired part of public property, and it manages itself independently within the framework of the resources it owns, on guiding itself by the principle of utilizing them efficiently.

2. The agency exercising supervision over the R&D organization may deprive that organization of parts of its allotted or acquired property only in the event of a merger or breakup or a transformation conducted pursuant to the provisions of this Decree.

3. In the event of dissolution of the R&D organization, the allocation of its property is decided upon by the agency exercising supervision over it.

4. The R&D organization may dispose of its fixed capital; this is done pursuant to the corresponding provisions applying to state enterprises.

5. The basis for the economic management of the R&D organization is its material-financial plan determined by its director.

6. The R&D organization may avail itself of credit on terms specified in separate regulations.

Article 11. 1. The R&D organization performs transactions in its own behalf and to its own account.

2. The R&D organization defrays its current operating expenditures from its income.

3. The R&D organization is responsible for its own obligations.

4. The R&D organization is not responsible for the obligations of the State Exchequer or other legal entities. The State Exchequer is not responsible for the obligations of the R&D organization.

5. The R&D organization may derive income from the application and dissemination of the results of its activities, and it may share in the resulting economic benefits pursuant to provisions defined in separate regulations.

Article 12. The R&D organization generates and disposes of funds designated for:

1) the reproduction and development of its own material base;

2) own research (work);

3) material incentives;

4) social and housing services;

5) defraying eventual losses.

2. Funds of R&D organizations that remain unutilized during a given calendar year are transferred to the next year.

Article 13. Depending on its financial possibilities and in accordance with the binding regulations governing emoluments, the R&D organization independently determines the extent of funds to be disbursed on emoluments.

Article 14. 1. The R&D organization may engage in foreign-trade activities on principles defined in separate regulations.

2. The R&D organization disposes of the foreign exchange earned as a result of foreign cooperation.

Article 15. The Council of Ministers defines, by way of an ordinance, the detailed principles of the financial management of R&D organizations.

Article 16. 1. In cases warranted by the subject matter and nature of their activities and the thematics of their research work, R&D organizations may conduct their financial management in accordance with the principles provided for in the budget law.

2. The R&D organizations referred to in Paragraph 1 above are, upon the recommendation of their supervising agencies, named by the Minister-Director of the Office of Science and Technology Progress and Applications in cooperation with the Minister of Finance.

3. The provisions of Article 5, Paragraph 1, and Articles 10-15 do not apply to the R&D organizations referred to in Paragraph 1 of this Article.

## Chapter 4

## Organs of the R&D Organization

Article 17. The organs of the R&D organization are:

1) the director;

2) the scientific council;

3) the general meeting of personnel;

4) the workforce council.

Article 18. 1. The director directs the R&D organization and, in particular:

1) determines the plans of activity of the R&D organization;

2) implements personnel policies, cooperating in this respect with the party organization and the allied political parties operating at the R&D organization;

3) administers the assets and is responsible for the performance of the R&D organization;

4) represents the R&D organization;

5) takes decisions on all matters concerning the R&D organization, excepting those that belong in the scope of activities of other organs of that organization.

2. The director of the R&D organization is appointed by the agency exercising control over that organization, upon consulting the scientific council and the workforce council. The director is appointed for a period of 5 years or for an indefinite period. In the event that the person appointed to the post of director is not a staff member of the R&D organization, appointment to that post entails establishing an employment relationship with that organization.

3. The post of director of a R&D organization may be exercised by a person who:

1) holds an academic title or an academic degree or distinguishes himself/herself by his/her fund of knowledge and creative contributions to the field encompassed in the scope of activities of the R&D organization;

2) shows ability for organizing scientific work;

3) displays a high ethical level and fully accepts the Constitutional systemic principles of the Polish People's Republic.

4. The search for the candidate for the post of director of a R&D organization is organized by the supervision-exercising agency.

5. The search for the post of director is conducted by a search committee appointed by the supervision-exercising agency.

6. The search committee consists of representatives of the supervision-exercising agency, the scientific council, the workforce council, the trade union and the party and the allied political parties active at the R&D organization. The statute of the R&D organization may provide for the participation of representatives of scientific and socio-professional societies, as well as of other organizational units, in the membership of the search committee, and particularly of representatives of scientific institutions and of the bank financing the activities of the R&D organization.

7. The Minister-Director of the Office of Science and Technology Progress and Applications defines the specific principles for the conduct of the search.

Article 19. The director of the R&D organization is recalled by the agency exercising supervision over that organization, upon consulting the scientific council and the workforce.

Article 20. 1. The deputy directors, the chief accountant and the heads of the organizational cells of the R&D organization are appointed and recalled by the director upon consulting the scientific council and the workforce council.

2. The deputy directors and the heads of the organizational cells are appointed for a 5-year period or for an indefinite period.

3. The deputy director for science may be a person holding an academic title or a habilitated doctoral degree.

4. The provisions of Point 3, Paragraph 3, Article 18, apply correspondingly to the deputy directors.

5. The statute of the R&D organization may provide for:

1) [establishing] the post of scientific secretary of the R&D organization, to whom the provisions of Paragraphs 1, 2 and 4 above apply correspondingly;

2) appointing a collegium or other advisory-consultative bodies under the director; the members of these bodies are appointed by the director.

6. The director of the R&D organization may appoint plenipotentiaries for implementing specific tasks and determine the scope and period of their powers.

Article 21. 1. The director halts the implementation of a workforce resolution if it is inconsonant with the law. Thye director notifies the workforce council correspondingly within 3 days. The decision of the director to halt the implementation of a resolution of the workforce should be issued in writing and provide the legal and factual rationale.

2. In the event a dispute arises between the director and the workforce council in cases referred to in Paragraph 1 above, the dispute is resolved by the supervision-exercising agency within not more than 14 days from the date a request for considering the matter is transmitted thereto.

Article 22. 1. The scientific council is the initiating, consultative and advisory body of the R&D organization as regards the conduct of scientific activities and R&D work, as well as in matters relating to the development of science, research and technology personnel.

2. In particular, the tasks of the scientific council include:

1) outlining -- within the framework of the statutory tasks of the R&D organization -- the longrange directions of research, development and application activities;

2) issuing opinions on draft plans of activity of the R&D organizations and on the principal research, development and application projects, as well as evaluating the results of these projects;

3) considering reports on science, research and development activities as well as on patenting and licensing activities;

4) issuing opinions on the draft statute of the R&D organizations and on proposals for revising it;

5) issuing opinions on recommendations for granting stipends and scholarships;

6) issuing opinions on the qualifications of candidates for the posts of science and research-and-technology associates as well as -- upon the recommendation of the director of the R&D organization -- periodically evaluating the science and technology contributions of these persons;

7) offering recommendations for the conferral of academic titles and, within the limits of its rights, conducting doctoral and habilitation degree proceedings;

8) issuing opinions on candidates for the post of director and deputy directors of the R&D organization as well as offering recommendations for the recall of persons holding these posts.

3. The specific requirements that must be met by the scientific councils of R&D organizations authorized to confer academic degrees are defined by separate regulations.

Article 23. 1. Those appointed to membership in the scientific council may be:

1) among the personnel of the R&D organizations -- persons holding an academic title or an academic degree as well as persons employed in the posts of professors or docents;

2) outside the personnel of the R&D organization -- persons holding an academic title or a habilitated doctoral degree, as well as other persons distinguished by their fund of knowledge and practical contributions to the field comprised within the scope of activities of the R&D organization.

2. Members of the scientific council, whose number is determined by the statute of the R&D organization, are appointed by the supervision-exercising agency for a period of 5 years upon the recommendation of the director of the R&D organization. In particularly warranted cases a member of the scientific council may be recalled prior to the expiration of the period for which he was appointed.

3. The operating principles and procedure of the scientific council are defined in its bylaws, adopted by a majority of two-thirds of the members of the council. The proportion of council members lacking an academic title or degree may not exceed 25 percent of the total number of members.

Article 24. 1. The scientific council elects its chairman and vice chairmen by secret balloting.

2. The chairman of the scientific council may be a person holding the academic rank of professor or a habilitated doctoral degree.

3. The provisions of Paragraph 2 above apply correspondingly to the vice chairmen of the council.

4. The post of chairman of the scientific council may not be linked to the post of director or deputy director of the R&D organization.

Article 25. 1. The following take part in sessions of the scientific council:

1) the director of the R&D organization and his deputies;

2) representatives of:

a) the workforce council;

b) the party and the allied political parties;

c) the trade union;

d) scientific and socio-professional societies.

2. The number of the representatives referred to in Point 2, Paragraph 2, is specified in the bylaws of the scientific council.

3. Sessions of the scientific council may be attended by invited experts as well as by representatives of the organizational units cooperating with the R&D organization.

Article 26. 1. The competences of the general meeting of the personnel include:

1) election of the workforce council for a term of 3 years;

2) voting the statute of the workforce council;

3) performing an annual evaluation of the activities of the workforce council.

2. The resolutions of the general meeting of the personnel are passed by an ordinary majority of votes, and their validity requires a quorum of at least one-half of the personnel of the R&D organization.

3. General meetings of personnel are convened by the workforce council at least once a year; in addition, the council is dutybound to convene such a meeting upon the recommnendation of the director or the scientific council as well as of one-fifth of the personnel.

Article 27. 1. The active right to elect members of the workforce conuncil belongs to every employee of the R&D organization.

2. The passive right to elect members of the workforce council belongs to any employee of the R&D organization who has worked in that organization for at least 3 years. This requirement does not apply to the personnel of newly established organizations.

3. Specific principles and procedure for electing members of the workforce council as well as principles for the loss of mandate or recall of a council member are defined in the statute of the workforce council.

Article 28. 1. The competences of the workforce council include:

1) adopting resolutions concerning the principles for the utilization of funds for social-service and housing purposes;

2) issuing opinions on the draft statute of the R&D organization and on proposals to revise it;

3) issuing opinions on the merger, breakup, transformation and dissolution of the R&D organization;

4) expressing its opinions on:

a) annual plans of the R&D organization;

b) annual reports of the director on the performance of the R&D organization and on its balance sheets;

c) candidates for the post of director and deputy directors of the R&D organization;

d) other matters relating to the activities of the R&D organization, with the exception of matters belonging in the competences of the scientific council.

5) issuing opinions on the director's recommendations concerning:

a) joining the R&D organization to an association;

b) joining the R&D organization to a joint stock company;

c) joint projects and the formation of joint organizations.

2. The resolutions referred to in Point 1, Paragraph 1 above, are of a binding nature to the director.

3. The director of the R&D organization makes accessible to the workforce council indispensable information on the activities of the R&D organization, together with appropriate documentation, and provides the material and organizational conditions for its operation.

4. The workforce council cooperates with trade unions, political and youth organizations, and other socio-professional and socio-occupational organizations active at the R&D organization.

Article 29. 1. The termination of the employment relationship with a member of the workforce council during its official term as well as within a year following the expiration of that term requires the consent of that council, with the exception of cases in which:

1) the employment relationship is terminated without prior notice;

2) dismissal is ordered on the basis of a verdict of the disciplinary commission.

2. The working conditions and emoluments of members of the workforce council cannot be altered to their disadvantage during the period defined in Paragraph 2 above.

3. Activities within the workforce council are of a prosocial nature.

4. Members of the workforce council retain the right to be paid for the time during which they do not carry out their work owing to the implementation of council tasks during working hours.

## Chapter 5

## Supervision of the Activities of the R&D Organization

Article 30. 1. The R&D organization is subject to supervision exercised by the agency named in the act ordering its establishment.

2. The supervising agency monitors and evaluates the activities of the R&D organization and the performance of the director.

3. In the event it finds that a decision of the director of the R&D organization is contrary to the law, the supervising agency halts its implementation and places the director under the obligation of altering or withdrawing it.

4. The decision, referred to in Paragraph 3 above, of the supervising agency may be appealed to an administrative court on the principles and through the procedure specified in the Code of Administrative Proceedings.

Article 31. 1. The supervising agency may place the R&D organization under the obligation of incorporating tasks in its plan, or it may assign to it a task outside the plan, if so required by the needs of national defense, in the case of a natural disaster or with the object of implementing international obligations, or if the task is comprised in the national socio-economic plan or the central annual plan.

2. In cases referred to in Paragraph 1 above the supervising agency provides the R&D organization with the resources for implementing the task in question, unlerss the task is implemented in return for a financial consideration, on the basis of a contract.

3. In the event the R&D organization suffers damage owing to the implementation of the task imposed by the supervising agency, that agency is dutybound to repair the damage.

## Chapter 6

## Personnel of R&D Organizations

Article 32. The R&D organization may employ:

1) scientific associates;

2) research-and-technology associates;

3) engineers and technicians;

4) administrative and business-office personnel;

5) library personnel and science documentation workers;

6) health service personnel;

7) blue-collar workers;

8) service and other personnel.

Article 33. 1. Scientific associates and research-and-technology associates may be employed by organizational units that are not R&D organizations but that conduct or coordinate scientific work.

2. The units referred to in Paragraph 1 above are identified by the Minister of Science and Higher Education in cooperation with the Minister-Director of the Office of Science and Technology Progress and Applications.

3. The provisions of Articles 34-49, 55-61, 69, 70 and 72-75 apply correspondingly to the scientific associates and research-and-technology associates employed in the units referred to in Paragraph 1 above.

4. A scientific council may be called into being in any of the organizational units referred to in Paragraph 1 above.

## Chapter 7

## Scientific Associates

Article 34. 1. A scientific associate may be a person holding the academic qualifications required by this Decree, who has high ethical standards and who fully accepts the Constitutional systemic principles of the Polish People's Republic.

2. The principal duty of the scientific associate is to implement the aims and tasks of the R&D organization, and in particular to conduct research and development activiites promoting a steady development of science and technology.

Article 35. 1. A scientific associate may be a person employed in the post of:

1) professor;

2) docent;

3) adjunct professor;

4) senior assistant;

5) assistant;

6) junior assistant.

2. The statute of the R&D organization may also provide for establishing posts of contract (contractually hired) professors and docents.

3. Persons holding the position of contract professor or contract docent may not perform the duties of the deputy director for science or the scientific secretary of the R&D organization.

4. Persons hired for the position of docent hold the habilitated doctoral degree or the doctoral degree and a record of appropriate technological, design or invention-related accomplishments, confirmed by the Central Certification Commission for Academic Personnel.

5. The Minister-Director of the Office for Science and Technology Progress and Applications defines, in cooperation with the Minister of Science and Higher Education and upon consulting the Central Certification Commission for Academic Personnel, the disciplines in which persons holding the doctoral degree in an appropriate field of science as well as a record of eminent practical accomplishments may be hired for the position of docent.

6. A person lacking a academic title or degree who has a record of eminent and creative practical or scientific accomplishments may be hired for the position of contract professor or contract docent with the consent of the scientific council.

7. The procedure for the qualifying proceedings prior to employment in cases referred to in Paragraph 6 above is determined by the Minister-Director of the Office for Science and Technology Progress and Applications in cooperation with the Minister of Science and Higher Education and upon consulting the Central Certification Commission for Academic Personnel.

Article 36. 1. Scientific associates include library science graduates and science documentation graduates.

2. Library science graduates and science documentation graduates are correspondingly employed in the following positions:

1) senior licensed curator or senior licensed documentalist;

2) licensed custodian or licensed documentalist;

3) adjunct professor of library science or adjunct professor of science documentation;

4) library assistant or science documentation assistant.

Article 37. The employment relationship with a scientific associate is established on the basis of an appointment or an employment contract.

2. Scientific associates employed in the positions of professor and docent are appointed for an indefinite period; the appointment is made by the supervising agency upon the recommendation of the director of the R&D organization.

3. The employment relationship with scientific associates other than those referred to in Paragraph 2 is based on concluding a labor contract.

4. Establishing an employment relationship with a scientific associate for whom the R&D organization is a place of additional employment occurs on the basis of an employment contract.

5. Scientific associates are subject to periodic evaluations of their scientific and technological contributions, performed by the scientific council in accordance with the principles and procedure defined by the Minister-Director of the Office for Science and Technology Progress and Applications.

6. The recall of a scientific associate from the duties entrusted to him at the R&D organization does not entail the termination of employment relationship.

Article 38. 1. The duties of the scientific associate include the implementation of the statutory tasks of the R&D organization, in particular by means of:

1) creative scientific activity consisting in the solution of scientific problems so as to benefit social and economic practice;

2) practical application of the results of scientific research;

3) upgrading personal qualifications;

4) disseminating the achievements of science through, among other things, publishing activity and active participation in scientific life;

5) training of junior personnel;

6) participation in the organizational work of the R&D organization relating to scientific, instructional or artistic activities, and at R&D organizations supervised by the Minister of Health and Social Welfare, also participation in medical care and prophylactic and diagnostic treatment as well as in other service-providing activities in behalf of the social health protection system.

2. The provisions of Point 5 of Paragraph 1 above do not apply to the scientific associates holding the positions of senior assistant, assistant and junior assistant.

3. The Minister of Health and Social Welfare defines the nature and scope of the medical care, prophylactic and diagnostic activities and other services referred to in Point 6 of Paragraph 1 above, provided by the R&D organization in behalf of the social health protection system, as well as the principles for remunerating these activities and services.

Article 39. An appointed scientific associate who assumes for the first time the position of docent or professor deposes the following oath: "Being

fully aware of my duties, I do solemnly swear to take an active part in the scientific research, development, organizational and popularizing activities of the R&D organization, to systematically upgrade my personal scientific and professional qualifications, to guide myself in my conduct by the good of the State and the Constitutional principles of the Polish People's Republic and to guard the dignity of the scientific associate."

Article 40. 1. The employment relationship with an appointed scientific associate is subject to being terminated after a 3-month advance notice upon own request of the scientific associate as well as in cases of:

1) permanent incapacitation for scientific work, due to illness and confirmed by a decision of the medical commission for disability and employment;

2) eligibility for retirement pursuant to the provisions governing the retirement pensions of employees and their families, with the exception of the case defined in Point 2 of Paragraph 2 below;

3) failure to perform basic duties, as established by the procedure defined in Paragraph 5 of Article 37;

4) dissolution of the R&D organization.

2. The employment relationship with an appointed scientific associate is subject to termination without advance notice in the following cases:

1) in the event of incapacity for work owing to illness if the duration of that illness exceeds one year; in particularly warranted cases, after the medical commission finds improvement in state of health and the possibility of return to work, the period of illness-caused absence from work may be extended for more than a year, but for not longer than 2 years;

2) with the end of the calendar year in which the associate ends the 70th year of his life;

3) in the event of a glaring failure to perform the principal duties of the scientific associate, as established through the procedure defined in the provisions of Paragraph 5 of Article 37; the termination for this reason of the employment relationship with the scientific associate requires the consent of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers.

3. The employment relationship with an appointed scientific associate is subject to dissolution at any time with the consent of both parties.

Article 41. The employment relationship with an appointed scientific associate is legally terminated in the event of:

1) punishment through disciplinary proceedings in the form of dismissal from work;

2) sentencing to deprivation of civil rights or of the right to exercise one's profession;

3) deprivation of academic rank;

4) sentencing to deprivation of freedom -- after a month from the date of sentencing;

5) abandonment of work;

6) refusal to swear the oath.

Article 42. Appointed scientific associates bear disciplinary responsibility for any glaring violation of their duties or for conduct detrimental to the dignity of the scientific associate.

Article 43. 1. The following bodies decide on disciplinary matters concerning appointed scientific associates:

1) in the first instance -- disciplinary commissions appointed by the supervising agencies;

2) in the second instance -- a higher disciplinary commission appointed by the Minister-Director of the Office for Science and Technology Progress and Applications.

2. Members of the disciplinary commissions, including the chairman and the vice chairmen, are appointed for a period of 4 years.

3. Disciplinary commissions operate in teams of three persons each.

4. The Council of Ministers defines by way of an ordinance the specific principles for the formation and organization of disciplinary commissions, the appointment of commission members and disciplinary spokesmen, the disciplinary proceedings and the execution of disciplinary penalties as well as their pardoning and erasure from the record.

Article 44. In cases not regulated by this Decree the provisions applying to research-instructional personnel in higher schools apply correspondingly to scientific associates.

## Chapter 8

## Research-and-Technology Personnel

Article 45. The principal duty of the research-and-technology associate is to implement the purposes and tasks of the R&D organization, and especially to take an active part in the solution of scientific and technological problems, to explore the practical applications of such solutions and to participate in their application and dissemination.

Article 46. 1. A research-and-technology associate is a person holding the post of:

1) chief research-and-technology specialist;

2) senior research-and-technology specialist;

3) research-and-technology specialist.

2. Persons eligible for the position of chief research-and-technology specialist have the doctoral degree or grade-2 professional specialization or the rights defined in the decree on patent attorneys.

3. Persons eligible for the position of senior research-and-technology specialist have:

1) grade-1 professional specialization, in the professions in which specialization has been introduced by separate regulations;

2) a higher-school diploma and properly documented substantial research, design or patent accomplishments, organizational, economic or artistic accomplishments or their equivalent in the professions in which specialization has not been introduced, as well as at least a 5-year record of work in the specialty concerned.

4. Persons eligible for the position of research-and-technology specialist have:

1) a higher-school diploma and properly documented research, project, design, patent, or technological accomplishments, organizational, economic or artistic accomplishments or their equivalent, and

2) a 5-year record of work in the specialty concerned.

Article 47. The duties of the research-and-technology associate include the implementation of the statutory tasks of the R&D organization, in particular by means of:

1) participation in the solution of the scientific problems being worked on by the R&D organization;

2) adaptation of research results to practical needs;

3) conduct of work in the field of project and structural design, technologies, organization and medical techniques, and participation in its practical application;

4) conduct of experimental work;

5) conduct of work relating to the protection of industrial property, auctorial rights and invention rights;

6) participation in the organizational work relating to the activities referred to in Points 1-4 above.

Article 48. The employment relationship with a research-and-technology associate is established on the basis of an employment contract.

Article 49. The Council of Ministers defines, by way of an ordinance, the procedure for the qualifying proceedings prior to employment in research-and-technology positions, as well as the principles for granting qualification-category pay allowances to these employees and the size of these allowances.

## Chapter 9

## Engineer and Technician Personnel

Article 50. 1. Engineer and technician personnel are employed on the basis of employment contracts.

2. The duties of engineer and technician personnel include in particular:

1) implementation of tasks relating to the servicing of the work ensuing from the activities of the R&D organization;

2) conduct of the experimental and laboratory work carried on by the R&D organization;

3) implementation of the tasks relating to the repair and maintenance of research equipment and other technical facilities owned by the R&D organization.

Article 51. The qualifications of engineer and technician personnel required for holding particular job positions are defined by the regulations govening remuneration.

## Chapter 10

## Administrative and Business Office Personnel

Article 52. 1. Administrative and business office personnel are employed on the basis of employment contracts.

2. The duties of administrative and business office personnel include in particular:

1) administering the assets of the R&D organization;

2) solving the economic problems of the R&D organization and handling matters relating to shaping legal relations with other organizations;

3) performing work relating to planning, financing and reporting on the activities of the R&D organization;

4) providing administrative and social services to the employees of the R&D organization.

Article 53. The qualifications of administrative and business office personnel are defined in the regulations governing remuneration.

## Chapter 11

## Other Personnel

Article 54. 1. The employees referred to in Points 5-8 of Article 32 are hired on the basis of employment contracts.

2. The duties of the employees referred to in Paragraph 1 above include the implementation of tasks defined in separate regulations or ensuing from their professional or occupational specialization, or defined in the organizational rules of the R&D organization.

3. The qualifications of the employees referred to in Paragraph 1 above are defined by separate regulations or by the regulations governing remuneration.

## Chapter 12

## Rights of Employees of the R&D Organization

Article 55. 1. The principles for the remuneration of employees of the R&D organization, as well as their qualifications as required pursuant to the provisions of Articles 51 and 53 and Paragraph 3 of Article 54, are defined by way of an ordinance by the Council of Ministers.

2. Employees of the R&D organization are entitled to the following seniority pay allowances:

1) for scientific associates and research-and-technology employees -- 3 percent of monthly base pay after 3 years of work, increased by 1 percent for each additional year of work, until 20 percent after 20 years of work;

2) for other employees of the R&D organization -- 5 percent of monthly base pay after 5 years of work, increased by 1 percent for each additional year of work, until 20 percent after 20 years of work.

3. The Minister-Director of the Office for Science and Technology Progress and Applications defines, in cooperation with the Minister of Labor and Social Services, the principles for crediting the periods of work warranting pay allowances referred to in Paragraph 2 above.

4. For longtime work in a R&D organization, employees are entitled to the following anniversary awards:

1) after 20 years of work -- 75 percent of monthly pay;

2) after 25 years of work -- 100 percent of monthly pay;

3) after 30 years of work -- 150 percent of monthly pay;

4) after 35 years of work -- 200 percent of monthly pay;

5) after 40 years of work -- 300 percent of monthly pay.

5. The provisions of Article 4 become effective on 1 January 1987. Until that date eligible employees continue to receive anniversary awards on the basis of heretofore binding principles.

Article 56. 1. The working time of employees of the R&D organization is 40 hours weekly, with the exception of blue-collar workers, service personnel, motor vehicle drivers and security personnel, unless special regulations provide for a different work norm.

2. Provisions governing the working time of employees of the public health service apply correspondingly to the working time of the employees of the R&D organizations supervised by the Minister of Health and Social Welfare.

3. Work schedules are determined by work regulations.

4. If so required by the needs of the R&D organization, its employees may work overtime and, in special instances, also at night as well as on days off, on the principles defined in the Labor Code.

5. The provisions of Paragraph 4 above do not apply to pregnant women as well as to persons caring for children up to 8 years old.

Article 57. Employees of the R&D organization may accept outside employment with the consent of the director of that organization.

Article 58. Employees of the R&D organization who work under arduous or noxious conditions are entitled to pay allowances defined in separate regulations.

Article 59. Provisions applying to higher-school personnel apply correspondingly to personnel of the R&D organizations as regards the right to railroad ticket discounts and severance pay upon retirement with a pension or an annuity.

Article 60. Provisions applying to the research-instructional personnel at higher schools apply correspondingly to the scientific associates of the R&D organization as regards remuneration for sick leave or other justified absence from work, the granting of vacation leaves, the right to unpaid or paid sabbaticals for research, artistic or academic upggrading purposes, and

also health leaves, the right to extra dwelling area, extra pension or annuity allowances and the relocation of apppointed scientific associates and lump-sum relocation payments.

Article 61. 1. Provisions applying to the research-instructional personnel at higher schools with respect to the granting of vacation leaves apply correspondingly to the research-and-technology associates holding the position of chief research-and-technology specialist or senior research-and-technology specialist.

2. In particularly warranted cases the agency supervising the R&D organization may, upon the recommendation of the organization's director, grant to an employee holding the position of chief research-and-technology specialist or senior research-and-technology specialist the right to additional dwelling area exempt from fees for additional dwelling area. Said employee retains this right also following his retirement with a pension or an annuity.

## Chapter 13

## Changes in Binding Regulations; Special, Interim and Final Regulations

Article 62. The following revisions are introduced in Article 18 of the Decree of 26 February 1982 on the Statute of Narodowy Bank Polski (DZIENNIK USTAW, Item 57, No 7):

1) the original text of Article 18 is designated as Paragraph 1;

2) the following Paragraph 2 is added:

"2. Narodowy Bank Polski may exercise the functions of the supervising agency as construed by the Decree on Research and Development Organizations, with respect to the orgnizations linked to the bank's own activities."

Article 63. 1. Scientific research institutes and other R&D organizations that are not scientific research institutes, incluuding the R&D centers and central laboratories operating on the day this Decree becomes effective, become R&D organizations as construed by this Decree, upon being entered in the registry referred to in Paragraph 1 of Article 9. Until that time they continue to operate on the basis of previous regulations. The application for registration should be submitted no later than within 3 months from the effective date of this Decree.

2. In the event of a lawful judicial verdict refusing registration, or in the event that it is established through separate proceedings that a scientific research institute or other R&D unit does not meet the requirements specified in this Decree or cannot perform effectively its statutory tasks, the supervising agency commences proceedings leading toward its dissolution as a R&D unit.

Article 64. 1. Experimental plants constituting state agricultural enterprises are as of 1 July 1986 transformed into experimental plants of the R&D organizations specified by the parent agencies of these plants, and are hereinafter referred to as "experimental plants."

2. The experimental plants incorporated in R&D organizations became the plants of these organizations but keep their own separate accounting systems.

3. The parent agencies referred to in Paragraph 1 above define the principles and procedure for incorporating experimental plants in R&D organizations.

4. The provisions governing financial management at state agricultura enterprises apply to the experimental plants. The Council of Ministers may, by way of an ordinance, adapt these provisions to the operating specifics of the experimental plants.

5. Employees of experimental plants are covered by the provisions governing collective labor agreements for state agricultural enterprises or the plant remuneration system, except that the agency supervising the R&D organization that includes an experimental plant may extend wholly or partially to the scientific associates and research-and-technology personnel of that plant the provisions of this Decree concerning that personnel.

6. A workforce council may operate at an experimental plant. The specific principles and operating procedures of that council as well as the scope of its competences are defined in the statute of the workforce council of the R&D organization.

7. Regulations governing the workforce council of the R&D organization apply correspondingly to the workforce council of the experimental plant.

Article 65. The provisions of Paragraphs 2 and 4-7 of Article 64 also apply correspondingly to the experimental agricultural plants of R&D organizations that are established following the effective date of this Decree.

Article 66. 1. The directors of the R&D organizations referred to in Paragraph 1 of Article 63 shall, within not more than 3 months from the effective date of this Decree, convene general personnel meetings with the object of electing the workforce council, in accordance with the provisions of this Decree.

2. Until such time as the workforce council gets constituted, its competences belong to the director of the R&D organization.

Article 67. The scientific councils of the scientific research institutes and other R&D units referred to in Paragraph 1 of Article 63, existing on the effective date of this Decree, shall operate until the end of the term of office for which they were appointed, upon adapting their membership and activities to the requirements of this Decree.

Article 68. Until the director of a newly formed R&D organization is appointed, the supervising agency appoints, for a period of not more than 6 months, the acting director of that organization.

Article 69. 1. Persons not meeting the requirement of Paragraph 4 of Article 35 but holding the doctoral degree and the position of docent on the effective date of this Decree retain that position.

2. Persons referred to in Paragraph 1 above who act as deputy directors for science on the effective date of this Decree but who do not meet the requirements of Paragraph 3 of Article 20, may exercise their official duties in that position for a period of not more than 5 years.

Article 71. 1. The service relationship, the rights and duties ensuing therefrom, and the disciplinary responsibility of the personnel in active military service as well as of the personnel of the Citizens' Militia, the Security Service and the firefighting services, who perform duties at the R&D organizations supervised by the Minister of National Defense or the Minister of Internal Affairs, are defined in separate regulations.

2. A requirement for appointing personnel in active military service as well as the personnel of the Citizens' Militia, the Security Service and the firefighting services to the positions of scientific associates and research-and-technology associates is the possession of the qualifications defined in this Decree as well as in separate regulations.

Article 72. The regulations currently in force apply to the disciplinary proceedings commenced prior to the effective date of this Decree, unless the provisions of this Decree are more favorable to the accused.

Article 73. The provisions of this Decree apply to the labor relationships contracted prior to the effective date of this Decree.

Article 74. Disputes and claims relating to the employment relationship of scientific associates are, regardless of the form in which that relationship wras established, subject to resolution through the procedure specified in the Labor Code.

Article 75. Persons attending the doctoral study programs existing on the effective date of this Decree have the right to complete their doctoral studies as originally envisaged and upon retaining the rights they are entitled to.

Article 76. 1. The Council of Ministers defines, by way of an ordinance:

1) the scope of applicability of the provisions of this Decree to the R&D organizations supervised by the Minister of National Defense and the Minister of Internal Affairs;

2) the rules for the establishment, transformation and dissolution of R&D organizations as well as for their activity.

2. The Minister of National Defense and the Minister of Internal Affairs exercise with respect to the R&D organizations under their supervision the rights of the Minister-Director of the Office for Science and Technology Progress and Applications referred to in the provisions of Paragraph 2 of Article 16, Pareagraph 7 of Article 18, paragraph 2 of Article 33, Paragraphs 5 and 7 of Article 35, Paragraph 5 of Article 37 and Point 2, Paragraph 1, of Article 43. The Minister of National Defense exercises the rights referred to in Paragraphs 5 and 7 of Article 35 with respect to the military sciences upon consulting the Council for Higher Military Education.

3. The Council of Ministers may, by way of an ordinance, define the scope of applicability of the provisions of this Decree to the R&D organizations engaging wholly or to a large extent in scientific research for the needs of the defense and security of the State but supervised by ministers other than those mentioned in Paragraph 1 above, and it may also define separate rules for the transformation, dissolution and activity of these organizations.

Article 77. The Council of Ministers may extend, by way of an ordinance, the provisions of this Decree to the R&D organizations established on the basis of international agreements with respect to matters not regulated by these agreements.

Article 78. 1. Upon the recommendation of the Minister of Science and Higher Education or the Scientific Secretary of the Polish Academy of Sciences the Council of Ministers may, by way of an ordinance, extend suitable specific provisions of this Decree to the institutes of higher schools and institutions of the Polish Academy of Sciences.

2. Upon the recommendation of the supreme authorities of cooperative associations, trade unions, or political, social, religious or other organizations, the Council of Ministers may, by way of an ordinance, define the scope of applicability of this Decree to the R&D departments of these organizations and unions.

Article 79. 1. Upon the recommendation of the director of a multiplant state enterprise its parent agency may, acting in cooperation with the Minister-Director of the Office for Science and Technology Progress and Applications and the Minister of Labor, Wages and Social Welfare, extend the provisions of Chapters 6-12 of this Decree to the R&D laboratory operating as an organizationally separate unit of that enterprise and engaging in the activities referred to in Article 2.

2. The Council of Ministers may, by way of an ordinance, adapt the principles of financial management at specified multiplant state enterprises at which the organizationally separate R&D laboratories referred to in Paragraph 1 above are operating to the specific nature of these enterprises, and in particular, it may extend to these R&D laboratories all or some of the provisions of Chapter 3.

Article 80. 1. The regulations governing the activities of state enterprises apply correspondingly to matters not regulated by the Decree on

R&D organizations, with the exception of the organizations referred to in Article 16.

2. The provisions of Articles 55 and 58 of this Decree do not apply to the R&D organizations using the plant remuneration systems defined in the Decree on the Principles of Forming Plant Remuneration Systems.

Article 81. The implementing regulations issued on the basis of the decree referred to in Article 82 remain effective until supplanted with regulations issued on the basis of the present Decree, insofar as they do not conflict with it, but for not longer than 6 months from the effective date of this Decree.

Article 82. The Decree of 17 February 1961 on Scientific Research Institutes (DZIENNIK USTAW, 1975, Item 41, No 7) is hereby abrogated.

Article 83. This Decree becomes effective on 1 January 1986.

Chairman of the Council of State: H. Jablonski
Secretary of the Council of State: J. Szymanek

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CSO: 2600/7

END

JPRS-EPS-85-127

28 DECEMBER 1985

# East Europe Report

## POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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JPRS-EPS-85-127

28 December 1985

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BCP DAILY ON ECONOMIC MANAGEMENT

AU151211 [Editorial Report] Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian on 11 November on pages 1 and 2 carries a 3,700-word editorial entitled "Independence and Responsibility in Economic Leadership and Management." Stating that "the economic approach reflects the objective needs of our country at the present stage," the editorial requires a broader application of this approach in the country's economic activity, "and first of all in the functioning and management of the socialist enterprise as one of the basic subjects of production relations."

The editorial points out that "it is no secret that Bulgaria has exhausted almost all on its resources of intensive development." Against this background "perfecting the organization of production and its management" is presented as a "reserve which we have not seriously tapped so far."

The need to "renew the economic structure and perfect the content of its units" is presented as a "decisive factor" in intensifying all branches of national economy. The editorial stresses the growing importance of "independence and responsibility as a dialectical unity," and denounces "methods of petty patronship," which contradict "the great goals" of Bulgarian economy. The simultaneous functioning of the "mechanism of self-regulation and the mechanism of regulation," should be subjected to the national interests of the country.

Further on, the editorial points out the importance of developing the initiative of the economic enterprises, stressing the responsibility of the plants in preparing their own plans by themselves, and independently seeking trade partners and signing agreements. In this context, the editorial stresses the "urgent need" to create a "legal-normative way" to affect the management of plants producing certain goods exclusively and compel them to not refuse orders from consumers, as well as to produce the goods in the required quantity and quality.

The importance of "creating brigades of a new type" is also pointed out. In this context, the importance of "serious changes in the economic trade relations" is emphasized.

The editorial maintains that "price-forming in Bulgaria lags behind the scientific criteria." The result is prices which do not correspond with the law of value. The price of electric energy in Bulgaria is presented as an example,

stressing that "the influence of the price of electric power over its use was brought down to zero, and therefore electric power terribly wasted."

Another factor which hinders economic development, pointed out by the editorial, is the inflated quantity of workers. "We should not fear unemployment--under socialist conditions this is impossible," stresses the editorial and demands "to absolutely cut down the quantity of workers" at the plants, emphasizing that "this is the right of the plant and the collective."

The final factor in improving production and developing economy, pointed out by the editorial, is "the training of cadres." The importance of this factor is analyzed against the background of "expanding the independence of the enterprises, which will expand the responsibility for the decisions adopted and the application of economic cost accounting."

In conclusion, the editorial points out that "the BCP's innovative approaches and the maturity of the workers' class and agrarian workers, as well as the political atmosphere of social activity on the eve of the 13th BCP Congress, are guarantees for reaching the goals" analyzed in the editorial.

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CSO: 2200/50

WORLD PEACE COUNCIL HEAD ARRIVES IN SOFIA

AU201920 Sofia BTA in English 1822 GMT 20 Nov 85

[Text] Sofia, November 20 (BTA)--"The World Peace Movement is in Upsurge," said Mr Romesh Chandra, who has arrived in Sofia today. "We are full of optimism and confidence and we are preparing for new actions for peace in 1986, which has been declared by the U.N. for International Year of Peace," said he.

The president of the World Peace Council also pointed out that in the course of the numerous actions during the autumn against the arms race, against the U.S. "star wars" plans, for aversion of the nuclear threat, a new tendency has made itself felt towards greater closeness and rallying of the various peace and anti-military movements, groups and coalitions in the world. This fact, according to Mr Chandra, is especially significant.

In the interview with a BTA reporter, Mr Romesh Chandra said that he is following with great attention and with definite hope the Soviet-Ameriman summit in Geneva.

The president of the World Peace Council arrived in Sofia in connection with the meeting of representatives of the socialist countries' national peace committees, which will start in Sofia tomorrow. Stressing that the socialist countries play a considerable role for the preservation of peace on the planet, Mr Chandra voiced his firm belief that the meeting will end with definite contribution to the struggle for peace.

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CSO: 2200/50

ZHIVKOV RECEIVES GREETINGS FROM PDRY LEADER

AU181210 Bulgaria RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 12 Nov 85 pp 1, 6

[Text] On the occasion of the fourth anniversary of the signing of the Treaty for Friendship and Cooperation between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the PDRY, Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council, has received a telegram from 'Ali Nasir Muhammad, general secretary of the Yemeni Socialist Party Central Committee and chairman of the Presidium of the PDRY Supreme People's Council.

In the name of the Central Committee and the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Yemeni Socialist Party, the Supreme People's Council Presidium, and personally in his own name, the PDRY leader sends best wishes to Comrade Todor Zhivkov, to the BCP Central Committee and Central Committee Politburo, and to the State Council of our country. The telegram gives a high assessment of the relations between our friendly countries and peoples, an expression of which was the signing of the treaty which was a new step in the development of bilateral relations in all fields.

The telegram stresses that the treaty not only opens new areas for the development of cooperation and friendship between our parties and countries, but is also a guarantee for friendly cooperation with the socialist states, led by the Soviet Union, and a confirmation of the sound basis for the development of the revolutionary processes in the PDRY. It will continue in the future to provide under opportunities for the strengthening and expansion of our fruitful cooperation in various fields.

We warmly greet the fourth anniversary of the signing of the Treaty for Friendship and Cooperation, congratulate your people, and welcome the international relations between our parties and countries, based on scientific socialism, the final section of the telegram states.

/7358
CSO: 2200/50

ARMY DAILY ON USSR ROCKET FORCES DAY

AU201812 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 19 Nov 85 pp 1, 4

[Marshal of Artillery Georgi Peredelskiy article "Specially for NARODNA ARMIYA": "A Force Capable of Crushing Any Aggressor--19 November--Day of the USSR Rocket Forces and Artillery"]

[Excerpts] Since the war 40 years have passed. But in all these years peaceful life has continued in a complex, sometimes explosive international situation, made incandescent by the reactionary forces of imperialism led by the United States. The guns' muzzles had not yet cooled when they began the "cold war" against the Soviet Union and the other peace-loving countries, at first blackmailed them with the atomic bomb, then started threatening them with Pershing and cruise missiles, and now with space weapons. It is natural for the Soviet people, having suffered such a grievous war, to show concern for the defense of its homeland. Therefore, the necessary answering measures were taken to guarantee the security of the country, its allies, and friends. Nuclear missile weapons became the basis of the USSR Armed Forces' might.

Formed in 1960, the Strategic Rocket Forces are today a powerful force capable of crushing any aggressor. Soviet strategic missiles have a practically unlimited range and great accuracy. The medium-range missiles are also characterized by great destructive power and are capable of hitting their targets accurately.

The Soviet Strategic Rocket Forces are constantly ready to deal the aggressor a retaliatory blow--they are on continuous fighting alert in the defense of the homeland's security.

The other services of the USSR Armed Forces have also changed. The basis of the ground troops' firepower comprises operational [word indistinct] weapons. Conventional artillery is also being improved as an effective means of striking the enemy on the battlefield. Modern artillery systems are outstanding for their great maneuverability, long range, and accuracy. There has been continuous growth in the fighting capabilities of the missile and artillery complexes in the air-defense, air force and navy troops.

Today there exists an approproximate balance between the USSR and U.S. strategic nuclear forces. Not only do we acknowledge this, but also the other side.

A report to Congress made by the Committee of the U.S. Armed Forces' Chiefs of Staffs in 1984 states: "At this period approximate parity exists between the United States and the Soviet Union." Even after the 50 percent reduction in corresponding nuclear weapons proposed by the USSR, the approximate balance will be preserved but, of course, at a lower level. Here the USSR agrees to the United States possessing a certain superiority in delivery vehicles (1680 against 1250), but wants both countries to possess the same number of warheads --up to 6000. Thus, an approximate strategic blance will be achieved between the USSR and the United States.

As regards medium-range nuclear weapons in Europe, here too one can speak of the existence of an approximate balance. The NATO member-countries have 387 medium-range missiles with 739 warheads in Europe. The Soviet Union has 373 missiles, including 243 SS-20's in the European zone. If aircraft are added, then NATO has at its disposal more medium-range delivery systems carrying nuclear charges (approximately 3000, as against 2000). Here, too, the Soviet Union is ready to take--by mutual agreement--radical measures, including the complete removal from Europe of both medium-range and tactical nuclear weapons.

Such is the objective reality. In striving to curb the arms race by the route of negotiation, at the same time the Soviet Union is unable to display naivity and rely only on the verbal assurances of the U.S. leaders, behind the screen of which they are creating strike weapons in space and continuing to increase their strategic nuclear missile potential. "If this continues," Marshal Sergey Akhromeyev, chief of the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces, wrote recently in PRAVDA, "The Soviet Union will be obliged to take measures in response in the field of both its offensive and other weapons, not excluding defensive weapons, among which are weapons based in space. The experience from the war and the postwar years shows convincingly that the Soviet Union is capable of creating any weapons on which the imperialists rely.

The Soviet Union and its allies, as the Sofia declaration of the Warsaw Pact member-countries underlines, are not striking to achieve military superiority, but also will not permit a disturbance of the military-strategic balance in the world arena. At the same time they will strive consistently for a continuous reduction in the level of this balance, for a reduction in the number of weapons on both sides, and to ensure the security of all peoples.

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PZPR AUDITING COMMISSION CONCLUDES VISIT

AU261144 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 23 Nov 85 p 2

[Text] At the invitation of the BCP Central Control-Auditing Commission, a delegation of the PZPR Central Auditing Commission, led by its chairman, Kazimierz Morawski, visited Bulgaria from 18 to 22 November. The delegation was received by Milko Balev, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and Central Committee secretary.

During its visit the delegation had talks with the leadership of the BCP Central Control-Auditing Commission, headed by its chairman, Stoyan Karadzhov, and visited the Vratsa Okrug BCP Committee, the Sofia City Dimitrov District BCP Committee, the Knezha City BCP Committee, and the Sofia plant on telephone and telegraph equipment.

During the meetings information was exchanged on the tasks which are being solved at the present by the BCP and the PZPR, and on the activity of their control-auditing organs, and satisfaction was expressed with the constant development of fraternal friendship and cooperation between the BCP and the PZPR.

On 22 November the Polish delegation departed. At Sofia Airport it was seen off by Comrade Stoyan Karadzhov and responsible associates of the BCP Central Control-Auditing Commission.

Wladyslaw Napieraj, Polish ambassador to Bulgaria, was also at the airport.

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## OGNYAN DOYNOV'S ACTIVITIES IN IRAN REPORTED

### Factory Tour

LD261704 Tehran IRNA in English 1430 GMT 26 Nov 85

[Text] Tehran, 26 Nov, IRNA--The visiting Bulgarian minister of machine building and electronics, Ognyan Doynov toured Iran-Khodro bus manufacturing factory here Tuesday.

The Bulgarian minister accompanied by officials from the Ministry of Heavy Industry discussed commercial issues with Iran-Khodro management.

Doynov arrived here Sunday at the head of a 20-member delegation and has so far held talks with several senior Iranian officials.

### Meets Musavi

LD251413 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 1030 GMT 25 Nov 85

[Text] The Central News Unit reports that the Bulgarian minister of machine building [Ognyan Doynov], who is in Tehran, today met Prime Minister Mir Hoseyn Musavi. During the meeting, the Bulgarian minister of machine building briefed the prime minister about Bulgaria's industrial characteristics and about his government's desire to expand industrial relations with the Islamic Republic of Iran.

### Talks on Expanding Trade

LD252237 Tehran IRNA in English 1640 GMT 25 Nov 85

["Bulgaria To Import Non-Oil Goods From Iran"--IRNA headline]

[Text] Tehran, 25 Nov, IRNA--Bulgaria is ready to purchase automobiles, cotton and copper from Iran, said the Bulgarian minister of machine-building and electronics, Ognyan Doynov, in his meeting with the Iranian minister of commerce, Hasan Ja'fari, here Monday.

Doynov arrived here Sunday afternoon at the head of a 20-member Bulgarian delegation.

The volume of annual trade between the two countries in recent years has reached 500 million dollars. Bulgaria imports 1,250,000 tons of Iranian oil annually.

Bulgarian minister also met with prime minister Mir Hoseyn Musavi Monday. During their talks, Doynov informed Musavi about Bulgaria's interest in expanding industrial cooperation with the Islamic Republic.

Premier Musavi, said that outlooks for expansion of cooperation between Iran and Bulgaria are promising. He also briefed the Bulgarian official on Iran's industrial achievements in the recent years.

Doynov has invited Iranian minister of commerce to pay a visit to Bulgaria which invitation has been accepted by Ja'fari.

Meets Velayati

LD262356 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 1630 GMT 26 Nov 85

[Text] The Bulgarian minister of machine building, who visited Iran, met Foreign Minister Veyati today. The two countries' relations were discussed during the meeting, which was held in friendly circumstances.

Expanding Ties Discussed

LD261705 Tehran IRNA in English 1638 GMT 26 Nov 85

[Text] Tehran, 26 Nov, IRNA--The visiting Bulgarian minister of machine building and electronics, Ognyan Doynov met and conferred with Iran's Agriculture Minister 'Ali 'Abbas Zali here Tuesday.

At the meeting, the two expressed willingness to expand Irano-Bulgarian economic-agricultural relations and agreed to make further efforts in that regard.

Meeting With Gharazi

LD262357 Tehran IRNA in English 1847 GMT 26 Nov 85

[Text] Tehran, 26 Nov, IRNA--Visiting Bulgarian minister of machine building and electronics Ognyan Doynov met Iranian Minister of Post, Telegraph and Telephone Mohammad Gharazi here Tuesday.

Discussed in the meeting was future bilateral cooperation in different fields including satellites and previously signed protocols between the two countries.

## 'Defects' in Bulgarian Devices

LD282110 Tehran IRNA in English 1500 GMT 28 Nov 85

[Text] Tehran, 28 Nov, IRNA--Bulgaria Minister of Machine-building and Electronics Ognyan Doynov met and conferred here Thursday with Minister of Energy Mohammed Taki Banki.

In the meeting, Banki briefed the Bulgarian minister on the Islamic Republic's war policy as well as cooperation with friendly countries.

The minister of energy also informed Doynov of the "certain" defects in electronic devices made in Bulgaria.

Doynov thanked Banki for the criticism and expressed the hope that the shortcomings would be soon eliminated and would not cause a rupture in bilateral cooperation.

## Doynov Ends Visit, Praises Talks

LD291425 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 1030 GMT 29 Nov 85

[Excerpt] Mr Ognyan Doynov, the Bulgarian minister of machine building and a member of the Politburo, who came to Iran at the head of a high-ranking delegation, left Tehran this morning and was seen off by Mr Behzad Nabavi, the heavy industries minister. Before leaving Tehran, the Bulgarian minister was interviewed at Mehrabad airport by a Central News Unit correspondent. About the outcome of his trip to the Islamic Republic of Iran, he said: Our trip to Iran was very useful, and this visit will assist the expansion of economic relations between Iran and Bulgaria by increasing the volume of exports and imports, of technological transfers, and by joint industrial activities, because there are many common points.

The Bulgarian minister of machine building added: A fresh point which was raised during this visit, in the course of our talks, and which was solved positively, was the issue of increasing Bulgaria's nonoil imports from Iran. Thanks to the efforts made by both countries, success was achieved and coordination will pave the way for signing the protocol of the two countries' joint commission.

Mr Nabavi was also interviewed by our correspondent on the outcome of the Bulgarian delegation's trip to Iran.

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## BRIEFS

LUKANOV RECEIVES ANGOLAN MINISTER--Andrey Lukanov, candidate member of the Politburo of the BCP Central Committee and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, received yesterday Kodeth dos Santos, secretary of state for social affairs of Angola. Discussed were the possibilities for expanding cooperation between the two countries in the social field. Georgi Evgeniev, chairman of the Committee for Labor and Social Work [name and position as published], was present at the meeting. [Text] [Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 19 Oct 85 p 2 AU] /7358

BALEV AT TURGOVISHTE MEETING--A plenum of the BCP Okrug Committee was held yesterday in Turgovishte. Milko Balev, Politburo member and secretary of the BCP Central Committee, took part in the plenum. Ivan Gruev, first secretary of the BCP Okrug Committee, was released from his post due to his transfer to other responsible work. Evtim Krustev was elected first secretary. [Text] [Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 3 Oct 85 p 3 AU] /7358

SED WORKING GROUP VISIT--Georgi Atanasov candidate member of the Politburo of the BCP Central Committee and secretary of the BCP Central Committee, received the visiting working group from the SED Central Committee headed by Fritz Mueller, head of the SED Central Committee "Cadres" Department. During the talk, which proceeded in a cordial and comradely atomsphere, the two sides exchanged information on the experience of the two fraternal parties in the field of party-organizational work. Egon Rommel, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the GDR to Bulgaria, was also among those present during the talk. [Text] [Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 28 Sep 85 p 2 AU] /7358

YORDANOV RETURN FROM MOSCOW--Georgi Yordanov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, as well as chairman of the Committee of Culture, returned from Moscow yesterday. He held mettings and talks with Petr Demichev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR minister of culture, during his stay in the Soviet capital. At Sofia airport Georgi Yordanov was met by Leonid Kerestdzhyants, minister-councillor at the USSR Embassy in Sofia, among other officials. [Text] [Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 2 Oct 85 p 8 AU] /7358

LUKANOV, MAROTHY MEETING--Andrey Lukanov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the Bulgarian section of the Bulgarian-Hungarian Commission for Scientific-Technical Cooperation, met last night Laszlo Marothy, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of Hungary and chairman of the Hungarian section of the commission. Matters were discussed concerning bilateral economic and scientific-technical cooperation. [Text] [Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 3 Oct 85 p 6 AU] /7358

STANISHEV RECEIVES CSSR YOUTH LEADER--On 10 October Dimitur Stanishev, BCP Central Committee secretary, received Jaroslav Jeneral, chairman of the Central Committee of the CSSR Socialist Youth Union, who is visiting Bulgaria in connection with the second week of friendship between Bulgarian and CSSR youth, which is taking place now. [Excerpt] [Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 11 Oct 85 p 8 AU] /7358

YORDANOV RETURN FROM BUDAPEST--Georgi Yordanov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the Committee for Culture and leader of the delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria to the European Cultural Forum, returned to Bulgaria yesterday. Among those meeting him at Sofia airport was Gyula Gyovai, the Hungarian ambassador to Bulgaria. [Text] [Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 18 Oct 85 p 2 AU] /7358

YORDANOV MEETS INDIAN OFFICIAL--Georgi Yordanov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the Committee of Culture, yesterday received (Ragundan Lao Batia), general secretary of the All-Indian Committee of the Indian National Congress (I). He is chairman of the Indian-Bulgarian Friendship Society. The meeting proceeded in an atmosphere of cordiality and friendship. [Text] [Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 22 Oct 85 p 6 AU] /7358

TSANOV AT VIDIN MEETING--A plenum of the Vidin BCP Okrug Committee was held on 27 September in Vidin town. It discussed problems pertaining to the further intensification of agriculture and food industry in the okrug for the period up to 1990. Vasil Tsanov, secretary of the BCP Central Committee, and Aleksandur Petkov, chairman of the National Agro-Industrial Union Central Council, attended the meeting. In his statement Vasil Tsanov dwelled on the methods of transforming agriculture in the spirit of the requirements imposed by the BCP Central Committee February and March plenums. The plenum adopted a program for the intensification of agriculture in Vidin okrug at an accelerated pace for the period up to 1990. [Excerpts] [Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 28 Sep 85 p 6 AU] /7358

U.S. ENVOY ON SUMMIT RESULTS--Sofia, 23 Nov (BTA)--Mr Ivan Ganev, deputy minister of foreign affairs of Bulgaria, received Ambassador Warren Zimmerman who briefed him on the U.S. assessment of the results of the meeting between Mr Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and Mr Ronald Reagan, President of the United States of America. The meeting was attended by Mr Melvyn Levitsky, the U.S. ambassador to Bulgaria. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 1850 GMT 23 Nov 85 AU] /7358

PLIGHT OF BULGARIAN TURKS--The allegations to the effect that the Turks in Bulgaria are becoming Bulgarianized on a voluntary basis do not reflect the truth. This was stated by Mehmet Cavus, the chairman of the Solidarity and Culture Association of Balkan Turks, at a news conference in Istanbul today. He pointed out that close to 2 million Turks have been Bulgarianized forcibly since the Bulgarianization campaign statted last December. He added that besides changing the Turks' names, the Bulgarian authorities were replacing the Turkish names of districts, villages, avenues, and streets with Bulgarian names. He also charged that numerous Islamic works have been destroyed in Bulgaria. Cavus said that the Association is exerting efforts to make the world public aware of these facts. He expressed the hope that the world public will not remain indifferent to the injustices to which the Bulgarian Turks are being subjected. Later, five Bulgarian Turks who took refuge in Turkey discussed the oppression of the Turks in Bulgaria at the news conference. [Text] [Ankara Domestic Service in Turkish 2100 GMT 14 Nov 85 TA] /7358

BULGARIAN-INDIAN COMMITTEE ENDS SESSION--Sofia, 2 Dec (BTA)--The ninth session of the Joint Bulgaro-Indian Subcommission for Techno-Scientific Cooperation was held in Sofia from November 27 to December 2. The session drew the conclusion that the bilateral relations have developed successfully. A protocol and a working programme for development of the techno-scientific cooperation between Bulgaria and India for the 1986-1990 period were signed. They envisaged that the cooperation should include spheres of mutual interest. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 2008 GMT 2 Dec 85 AU] /7358

CSO: 2200/50

DISTRICT COMMITTEE MEMBER EXPELLED FROM CPCZ

AU140841 [Editorial Report] Prague TRIBUNA in Czech No 45 of 6 November on page 7 carries a 1,700-word "NK"-signed article entitled "Protecting Values." The article deals with two cases of high-ranking managers who were recently sentenced by Czechoslovak courts for economic crimes.

The first case described in the article involves "Josef S.," former director of the Pertolice united agricultural cooperative and member of the Kutna Hora CPCZ District Committee. The TRIBUNA article says that, making illicit use of his rank, Josef S. purchased Kcs49,758 worth of industrial merchandise and Kcs8,212 worth of construction material for private consumption and charged it to the cooperative. In addition, he also used the cooperative's funds to purchase tours worth Kcs9,680 for two nonmembers of the farm and had the cooperative build the rough framework of a weekend house for a lawyer from a nearby village, without ever invoicing the amount of work performed and the material used to build the house. According to the TRIBUNA article, Josef S. also made himself guilty by giving away potatoes and other produce belonging to the cooperative and by using the cooperative as a front to purchase for himself articles (such as a welding set and two power saws), which private customers otherwise are not entitled to buy.

The Central Bohemian Regional Court reportedly found Josef S. guilty of "pilferage of property under socialist ownership," the "abuse of the powers of a public official," and other related charges and sentenced him to "8 years of deprivation of freedom in the first correctional group." The whole case was closed when the "Presidium of the CPCZ District Committee recommended and the plenary session of the CPCZ District Committee approved the expulsion of Josef S. from the ranks of the CPCZ members."

Winding up the story, the TRIBUNA article says: "After years of active and, no doubt, also good work, Josef S. failed. The party has expelled him from its ranks because he blatantly harmed communist honor and the party's interest and authority. Everyone in the district must not draw a lesson from the case. People who have failed, people who place their personal interests above the interests of society, must depart from their functions in due time."

The second case described in the TRIBUNA article involves "Lubomir P., deputy director of the Research Institute for Antifriction Bearings in Orno, Engineer Vaclav S., former director of that institute, and two other citizens"--Ladislav

K., had their expenses in the Slovan hotel invoiced as fees for the lease of the hotel's facilities to their organization. This permitted "unlawful machinations with financial funds," which over the years reportedly resulted in "damage of at least Kcs93,552 to property under socialist ownership." The Brno City Court sentenced Lubomir P. to "30 months of deprivation of freedom in the first correctional group" plus a 3-year [word indistinct] on performing any job involving economic responsibility. The other three defendants all received suspended sentences of 18 months for a 4-year probationary period. In addition, all defendants must compensate for the financial damage.

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CSO: 2400/86

ALL-DAY CARE FOR GYPSY CHILDREN RECOMMENDED

AU140911 [Editorial Report] Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 12 November on page 5 carries a 1,400-word article by Engineer Imrich Farkas, secretary of the Commission of the Government of the Slovak Socialist Republic [SSR] for Problems of the Gypsy Population, entitled "Education Provides the Guarantee for Success." The article deals with the need for "all-day care" for Gypsy children in order to "bring them up" to the level of other Slovak children.

Farkas opens the article by saying that slightly more than 92,000 Gypsy children live in Slovakia at present, 52,800 of whom are of school age and about 20,000 in the 3 to 5 age bracket. Of the Gypsy children between the ages of 3 and 5, he says, only 67 percent attend all-day kindergarten, compared with 88 percent for the Slovak population of this age group at large. As a result, "it is not always possible to ensure the proper preparation of Gypsy children for entry into elementary school."

Speaking about kindergarten attendance of Gypsy children, Farkas also says: "A serious obstacle to the enrollment of Gypsy children in kindergartens with all-day care is, at some places, the negative attitude of the rest of the population toward Gypsies. This attitude results in incorrect views about society's care for the education of the Gypsy population and, above all, Gypsy children on the basis of certain financial benefits (the financing of the cost of their board by national committees) or other prerogatives (the acceptance of Gypsy children in kindergarten even when their mothers are not employed). That is why it will be necessary that national committees explain to these people, including kindergarten directors, that from the economic viewpoint it is substantially more advantageous to cover the cost of meals of Gypsy children in kindergarten as well as in elementary and special schools--even in those cases when their parents are not socially needy--and thereby ensure their purposeful education and upbringing, than to solve their social problems, at a far greater financial cost, only after they grow up and have culturally and socially backward families with many children."

Moving on to the school attendance of Gypsy children, Farkas says that almost 80 percent of Gypsy children of the relevant age group attend elementary schools, with the remaining more than 20 percent attending special schools. Although the truancy of Gypsy children declined from an average of 101.5 missed hours per pupil in the 1975-76 school year to 84.2 hours in 1983-84, he says, it still exceeds the truancy rate of Slovak schoolchildren at large,

which is between 41 and 43 hours. The school performance of Gypsy children is also substantially worse than the school performance of Slovak children at large, according to Farkas. Whereas an average of between 97 and 98 percent of all pupils of Slovak elementary schools "pass" and can enter the next grade, the "pass rate" for Gypsy pupils of elementary schools in the 1983-84 school year was only 83.6 percent. These figures show, according to Farkas, "how much more effort society will have to exert for the standard of Gypsy children in the acquisition of basic education to match the standard of other children."

Speaking about ways of improving the school results of Gypsy children, Farkas advocates the promotion of their involvement in extracurricular activities in school club and school day-care centers, as well as their participation in school catering. "Findings acquired in many schools and districts show," he says, that the school performance of Gypsy children who take their meals in school cafeterias and participate in extracurricular activities "is substantially better than the performance of those who are outside this influence," In addition, such "all-day care of the school for Gypsy children" is also "of immense importance in the struggle against crime committed by Gypsy juveniles." According to Farkas, "Gypsy children who do not frequent school day-care centers or clubs not only do not study at home to be prepared for the next school day, but also cause all kinds of havoc under the guidance of older boys. Gradually, they get under the influence of criminals who, taking advantage of their not being criminally liable, directly prod them to commit punishable offenses."

In concluding, Farkas calls on national committees and school agencies to "approach far more energetically" the provision of "all-day care for Gypsy children within the framework of their preschool and school education." According to the author, this is the only way of fulfilling the resolution of the SSR Government that, by 1990, Gypsy children "catch up with general standards in preschool education" and "in school education, come close to other pupils, in terms of both school attendance and school performance."

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CSO: 2400/86

HUSAK RECEIVES WIDF DELEGATION

LD022256 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1530 GMT 2 Dec 85

[Text] Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the republic, received at Prague Castle today, on the occasion of the session of the Council of the Women's International Democratic Federation [WIDF], a delegation of the international organization led by its chairman, Freda Brown. Members of the delegation informed him about the proceedings and results of the session of the council which was held in Prague and which outlined the main future directions of activities of the federation in the struggle for peace, for the prevention of nuclear war, for disarmament and for the women's rights.

Freda Brown thanked the Czechoslovak hosts for the attention and care, for the creation of very good conditions for the deliberations.

Gustav Husak praised highly the 40-year long fruitful work of the WIDF and the pruposeful character of its effort for the solution of questions linked with the position, and the better and happier life of women and children on our planet. He underlined the important contribution of this large international organization, which unites 135 progressive women's organizations from 117 countries of all continents, to the struggle of progressive forces of the world for the preservation and strengthening of peace, for democracy and social progress.

He also underlined the importance of the recent Soviet-U.S. summit in Geneva and stressed that Czechoslovakia would support every initiative which would contribute positively to the implementation of all the positive ideas of the Geneva talks and would continue to make every possible effort in the struggle for the prevention of the danger of nuclear disaster, for the halting of arms race on the earth and the prevention of its spreading to the outer space, for a turn for the better in international relations.

Finally, Comrade Gustav Husak expressed the solidarity of Czechoslovak people with representatives of the progressive women's movement in their struggle for the noble ideas of the peaceful future of the mankind and wished them much success in the preparation of the Ninth Congress of the WIDF and the Women's World Congress.

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CSO: 2400/86

INTERVIEW WITH LEBANESE CP OFFICIAL

AU291208 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 23 Nov 85 p 6

[Interview given by Karim Mroue, member of the Central Committee Politburo of the Communist Party of Lebanon, to RUDE PRAVO staff journalist Milan Madr during Mroue's "recent stay in the [word indistinct]," "How To Resolve the Crisis"; first paragraph is RUDE PRAVO introduction]

[Text] We availed ourselves of the opportunity of the recent stay of Karim Mroue, member of the Central Committee Politburo of the Communist Party of Lebanon, in the CSSR and asked him for an interview on the current problems and prospects of Lebanon, a country that is experiencing the 11th year of an acute, frequently stormy situation, and the southern part of which continues to be occupied by Israeli units.

[Madr] In connection with the negotiations conducted by three major Lebanese political forces in Damascus, there has been talk about the possibility of a turn for the better, though such turn may be difficult to bring about.

[Mroue] You are referring to the negotiations under Syrian auspices that ended last month with an important agreement.

[Madr] What is the contents of this agreement?

[Mroue] It consists of two parts. The first part defines the nature of the reforms that are necessary for the system of a democratic, parliamentary republic to be set up in Lebanon. This is a reform that we have stipulated as fundamental in the present stage. The second part concerns the period of transition that should follow up on the present situation.

[Madr] What a [word indistinct] the principles of the first part of the document?

[Mroue] Above all, it provides for the abolition of denominationalism (the religion-based formula for distributing political appointments). In Lebanon, it will be necessary to reform existing institutions so as to abolish the prerogatives of the president of the republic. Executive power will be concentrated in the hands of the government, which will be elected by the parliament. Power (that is, presidential power) that is outside any control will thus cease

to exist. The presidential post will become a nominal function as in Greece or Italy. The change in this respect is extraordinarily important.

In addition, a number of reforms will be carried out on the political, economic, and social planes. On the political plane, it is essential to confirm Lebanon's affiliation [sounalezitost] with the Arab world and this country's special relations with Syria in all fields.

[Madr] What is envisaged for the period of transition?

[Mroue] The second part of the agreement concerns the period of transition. In this stage, the denominational system will remain in force. The parliament will be divided, with one half of the seats belonging to Muslims and the other half belonging to Christians (at present Christians hold 53 of the 99 parliamentary seats and Muslims 45). The number of deputies will double. Deputies will be appointed. This will be done in a way ensuring that they represent the real political spectrum of the Lebanese society. The presidential powers will be transferred to a narrow and representative council of ministers. The period of transition should last 5 years at the most. The committee that has been entrusted with drafting a new constitution should have completed its work by then. Armed units belonging to individual political formations will be abolished. According to the agreement, some Syrian units will be in Lebanon in the period of transition, which will also train the new Lebanese Army. In the economy, regulatory elements [regulacni prvky] will be applied, and in the social sphere, laws will be adopted benefiting the working people.

[Madr] What are the implications of the agreement? And what sort of preceding development is it based on?

[Mroue] It is a confirmation of that which the Communist Party of Lebanon proclaims, namely that the present stage of development in Lebanon, aimed at overcoming the civil war, is a stage of democratic, patriotic changes. In defining the characteristic features of the rpesent stage, we proceed from the successes of the patriotic and democratic forces.

[Madr] What successes are these?

[Mroue] To be concise, they are: the liberation of the main part of the territory occupied by Israeli troops; the expulsion of U.S. Marines and the troops of other NATO states from Lebanon; the annulment of the separate agreement with Israel of 17 May 1983; and also the dealing of a crushing blow to the designs of the Phalange and its power bodies.

[Madr] However, difficulties have now cropped up concerning the signing of the agreement....

[Mroue] The agreement signifies such a shift in a new direction that we ourselves assumed that initially it would be difficult to push through its signing and implementation. Important political representatives continue to be captives of sectarian [konfesionalni] and conservative notions.

[Madr] Are these the only reasons preventing the signing of the agreement?

[Mroue] Certainly not. In this connection it is impossible to ignore the destructive role of Israel and the United States, although the withdrawal of Israeli troops from the greater part of Lebanon, which Israel was forced to effect, undeniably means a decline of its political influence in our country.

[Madr] How do you assess the chances in the near future?

[Mroue] This will be a very difficult period. The struggle between those who fight for the implementation of the agreement and those who would like to thwart it will become even sharper. The front of the advocates of the agreement is strong. It is strong especially because it expresses the longing of the people of Lebanon that an end be put to the existing situation. Syria sides with this front and also supports the agreement. The camp of Christian forces, on the other hand, despite being opposed to the agreement, is internally split and does not have the strength to become united. It is also necessary to realize that following the liberation of Tripoli from the forces of obscurantism, these currents have been weakened. However, the struggle to implement the agreement will go on in various shapes. We believe that the balance of forces is not to the benefit of those who would like to kill the agreement.

[Madr] What immediate tasks do you see in this connection?

[Mroue] These tasks now include broadening political and military efforts in order to definitively expel the Israeli occupiers from Lebanon and carrying out political cleansing and reorganization--including from the security viewpoint--in various areas controlled by patriotic forces.

[Madr] What is your opinion of the growing Israeli and U.S. pressure on Jordan aimed at making it sign a separate peace agreement with Israel?

[Mroue] In my opinion, neither regional nor international conditions permit King Husayn to conclude such an agreement with Israel. On the other hand, we regard as positive his recent rapprochement with Syria and his statement against any sort of a separate peace.

[Madr] Thank you for the answers.

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CSO: 2400/86

CHRISTIAN PEACE CONFERENCE SESSION CONCLUDES

AU181207 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 15 Nov 85 p 2

[CTK report: "Attention to Peace Year"]

[Text] Piestany--the 4-day session of the International Secretariat of the Christian Peace Conference (KMK)--its main task was to discuss the activity of this organization after the sixth All-Christian Peace Assembly held in July 1985 in Prague--concluded on Thursday [14 November] in Piestany. The members of the International Secretariat, who come from 18 countries from all over the world, agreed that in the coming period the main attention will be directed at the recently opened international peace year and at mobilizing the Christians and churches throughout the world to actively contribute to its successful course and good results.

In connection with the appraisal of the KMK's topical tasks in the present international situation, one stressed the need to resolutely reject the U.S. administration's plan for the so-called SDI, the realization of which would not only mean the beginning of a new round of armament and a further destabilization of interstate relations, but would also have catastrophic consequences for the overall economic situation of the peoples and would lead the world yet closer to the threshold of a nuclear catastrophe.

The members of the International Secretariat welcomed the approaching meeting of the top USSR and U.S. representatives in Geneva and expressed the hope that the results of this meeting will be a contribution to positive changes in the international atmosphere, will establish prerequisites for practical measures to halt the armament race, and will correspond to the longing of all peoples to live in peace.

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CSO: 2400/86

CPCZ'S STEFANAK VIEWS NEW CPSU PROGRAM

AU141556 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 12 Nov 85 p 6

[Article by Michal Stefanak, candidate member of the CPCZ Central Committee and head of the CPCZ Central Committee International Affairs Department: "The Leninist concept of peace; on the draft of a new edition of the CPSU Program"]

[Text] The years that have passed since the Great October Socialist Revolution have produced new evidence of its power to inspire social development. Additional peoples and countries are entering the process of building a new, socially equitable socialist society. A new international socialist community has taken shape, which constitutes the main political and material foundation of the policy of detente and peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems. The draft of a new edition of the CPSU program represents a concentrated expression of the unity of the domestic, building, and foreign policy of the CPSU and the soviet state aimed at a comprehensive development of the advanced socialist society and at strengthening peace in the world.

It is therefore not surprising that this programmatic document has become the most-studied and most-discussed document of the present world. In Czechoslovakia, too, this is no different. This is the case, above all, because the document contains an integrated exposition of the soviet concept of peace, social progress, and national liberation. It formulates the basic, unchanging principles of the CPSU's policy of peace in the world arena. The draft of the program's new edition shows the breadth of the CPSU's approach to international events, its ability to objectively evaluate in due course developments in the world and individual regions, as well as its ability to flexibly respond to the requirements of the monument and the times. The CPSU consistently implements and with specific deeds living up to the mapped-out line of communist construction and strengthening world peace. Revolutionary, democratic, and peace-loving forces of the world and the peoples of the socialist countries, in particular, take pride in the enormous prestige and authority enjoyed by the land of the Soviets in the international arena.

Everyone is able to see that in the present tense international situation brought about by the most aggressive circles of the United States and NATO, the CPSU and the Soviet Government are doing everything they can to safeguard peace, eliminate the danger of a nuclear catastrophe, and establish conditions for peaceful building work for the benefit of man.

Revolutionary and progressive forces note with recognition, and anti-socialist and anti-peace forces with wrath, that the foreign policy line of the CPSU and the Soviet state is not subject to opportunistic [ionjunkturalni] ups-and-downs. It is principled and constructive policy, a consistently peaceful policy. Its main principles were worked out by V.I. Lenin in the famous historic "Decree on peace." Some 68 years have passed since then and the world is becoming ever more profoundly convinced that socialism equals peace. This follows from the gist of the socialist system. As the draft of the new edition of the CPSU program stresses, the main content of socialist foreign policy is to eliminate wars from the life of society and to ensure lasting peace on the planet and in space.

Socialism is not developing in isolation from other problems of the contemporary world. [Sentence as published] On the contrary, its development takes place in a sharp class struggle between the forces on socialism, progress, and peace on the one hand and the forces of aggression on the other. That is why the Soviet Union must pay constant attention to the defense of the socialist country and the whole socialist community and to the defense of peace throughout our planet. Along with this, it is striving to establish conditions in the world that would allow individual peoples to freely choose the manner of their future development, free of foreign interference in their affairs.

The foreign policy of peace worked out by the CPSU and consistently implemented by the Soviet state has, in combination with the reinforcement of the Soviet Union's defense capability, ensured for the Soviet people, the peoples of the socialist community, the peoples of the most inhabitants of the rest of our planet more than 40 years of peace. Mankind greatly appreciates the fact that the Soviet Union persistently continues this peaceful, revolutionary effort. "The CPSU will also in the future do everything within its power to preserve conditions of peace for the building work of the Soviet people, to improve international relations, to terminate the arms race that has flooded the world, and to avert the danger of nuclear war threatening nations," says the draft of a new edition of the CPSU program.

The coexistence of states with different social systems also establishes the most suitable conditions for the peaceful contest between the two systems. Soviet foreign policy has always proceeded from the realization that the historic conflict with capitalism cannot be resolved by way of a military confrontation and forcible imposition on others of one's own world view or social system. "Socialism does not demonstrate its merits by the force of weapons," the draft of the document states, "but by the force of its example in all areas of social life--by dynamically developing the economy, science, and culture, raising the standards of working people, and deepening socialist democracy." We realize that the greater the successes of socialism in the economic, political, and social spheres, the firmer will also become the positions of individual countries and the entire socialist world, the positions of revolutionary, democratic, and peace-loving forces. At the same time, these successes will enhance the attractiveness of the new socialist world, convincingly demonstrating on which side historical truth lies and the greater the role and the influence of socialism on the planet, the better will also the prospects of the cause of eliminating wars be. Such is the basic law governing social development, a law that has been conclusively confirmed by the course of history.

Today, peace is an unconditional prerequisite of the preservation of civilizations such and of mankind's advancement toward the peaks of social progress. The only way of ensuring lasting peace on our planet is shown by the Leninist concept of peaceful coexistence among states with different social systems. The draft of the new edition of the CPSU program points to the essence and concrete manifestations of this policy. It says that this policy presupposes the renunciation of war and the use of force or threat to use force as a means of settling disputed issues and the settling of disputes by way of negotiations; the noninterference in internal affairs and mutual respect for legitimate interests; the right of peoples to independently decide about their own fate; the strict respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of states and for the inviolability of their borders, cooperation on the basis of absolute equality and mutual advantage; and the conscientious fulfillment of commitments arising from generally recognized principles and norms of international life and from concluded international treaties. It is only on these foundations that it is possible under current conditions to build the road toward ensuring lasting peace on earth and beyond.

In the interest of the attainment of these goals, the CPSU, together with other fraternal parties, regards it as its internationalist duty to strengthen the unity and to enhance the strength and influence of the socialist community. "The course of the contest between socialism and capitalism and the future of world visualization depend to an enormous degree on the firmness of the socialist community, on the successes of each country's building activity, and on the purposefulness and coordination of their actions," the draft of the document states. The units of the socialist countries is an important factor accelerating social progress.

Under the complex conditions of the present, the comprehensive reinforcement of the unity and cohesion of the fraternal countries on the basis of the principles of socialist internationalism is also the main direction of the foreign political activity of the CPCZ and our socialist state. We agree with the Soviet comrades in that it is necessary to continue to strengthen our cooperation, to improve political coordination within the framework of the Warsaw Pact, which must be a reliable defense shield of the socialist community, and to deepen socialist economic and scientific integration, an important prerequisite for raising the economic potential of world socialism.

The draft document again shows what aims are pursued by certain circles in the West when they "reproach" our countries for firmly following a common line in international affairs, for not acting "independently," or, in other words, in disunity. This is not to the liking of our ideological adversaries. It is, after all, precisely the united course of action that multiplies the strength and increases the effectiveness of social foreign policy, which is aimed at achieving the noble goals of the struggle for peace and easing international tension. The conclusion outlined in the text of the draft is well-founded that the most important factors determining the successful advance of world socialism are loyalty of the ruling communist and workers parties to the Marxist-Leninist doctrine, its creative application, the parties' firm cohesion with the broad masses of the working people, the strengthening of their authority and leading role in society, the strict observance of the Leninist norms of the life of the party and the state and the development of socialist rule by the

people, the sober evaluation of the existing situation and the timely and scientifically-founded solution of arising problems, and the building of ties with other fraternal parties in the spirit of the principles of socialist internationalism.

Today, even shrewd conjectures no longer help the apologists of the old world to conceal before the world public the fact that it is the USSR and the countries of the Warsaw Pact, and not the United States and the states of NATO, that are the initiators of a large number of peace proposals aimed at detente, terminating the arms race, and developing mutually advantageous cooperation among individual states.

In implementing its foreign policy line, the CPSU appraises with understanding peace-loving initiatives of other states and considers in its proposals constructive ideas of antiwar movements, various social organizations, and individual state and political officials. This enhances the effectiveness of socialist foreign policy and furnishes evidence of its profoundly democratic nature, of the nature of the system that has established genuine rule by the people. At the same time, this corresponds to the vital interests of the majority of mankind. In its draft program, the CPSU expresses the conviction that, even though the danger threatening mankind is extraordinarily great, great also is the realistic possibility to maintain and strengthen peace. This is because of the enormous peace potential represented by the alliance of socialist countries, the international workers and communist movement, dozens of young independent states, and the large democratic antiwar movement. Their joint course of action can decisively determine the general direction of world developments in our era. "Peoples can and must eliminate the threat of nuclear war by concerted effort."

The draft of the CPSU program's new edition provides a profound analysis of the causes of the present exacerbated international situation. It shows that this situation is a result of the depending crisis of the world capitalist system, of the attempts of imperialist circles to regain lost positions, slow down social progress, and take social revenge. "Standing against the young world of socialism, which is oriented toward the future, is the still-strong and dangerous exploitative world of capitalism, which reached its prime in the past. The general crisis of capital is deepening. The sphere of its rule is being irretrievably narrowed, and the fact that historically it is doomed to extinction is becoming increasingly evident." This is a conclusion that is based on the scientific understanding of the main directions of current developments. The text of the draft states that "the more historical development undermines the positions of the imperialism, the more inimical the policy of its most reactionary forces become to people's interests."

The incumbent U.S. administration and the most reactionary forces of the North American society which bank it are trying to lead world capitalism out of the blind alley and implement their hegemonistic plans. They practice a policy of diktat based on military means. Washington's foreign policy line is a destructive factor in international relations. The aggressive designs of the North American ruling elite are manifested in tehir tenacious efforts to liquidate the existing military-strategic privity between the USSR and the United States

and between the countries of the Warsaw Pact and NATO, in their unbridled escalation of the arms race and in its transfer to outer space.

The Soviet Union has never threatened anyone and does not seek unilateral advantages and military supremacy. The [word indistinct] session of the political consulative committee of the Warsaw Pact member-states stressed that the Soviet Union and our community will not allow any other party or coalition of states to achieve such supremacy either. Even in its new programmatic document, the CPSU enshrines the gist of its policy: It wants the arms race to be stopped, and not to be continued, and therefore proposes a broad range of initiatives, an entire extensive program of peace, the main content of which is the effort to halt the further development of nuclear, conventional, chemical, and other weapons; it wants a genuine and extensive reduction of the amassed weapons and not the development of ever newer systems of weapons, be it on earth or in space.

The CPSU's approach to the questions of war and peace as contained in the draft of the new edition of its program and its continuous efforts in this respect are winning ever new sympathies and support in the world. The peoples of the world understand the CPSU raises in the international arena problems that affect their fundamental interests.

The draft of the new documents bears out the profound internationalism and class-orientation of the CPSU's policy. It is imbued with the spirit of solidarity with revolutionary and progressive forces all over the world. The CPSU and the Soviet state side with those who even today must wage a struggle for their freedom and independence, for the very existence of their people, with those who must ward off the pressure of aggressive imperialist forces or the threat of counterrevolutionary coups instigated from the outside. The CPSU shows its sincere interest in the normalization of the situation in all corners of the world, it insistently fights for the liquidation of explosive conflicts. It works consistently for the process of the escalation of tension to be stopped, for the spirit of security and cooperation to prevail in Europe, for Asia to become a continent of peace and understanding, for the peoples of Central America to have the chance to determine their fate independently, without outside interference, for the disgraceful regime of apartheid to be liquidated in the Republic of South Africa, and for the repulsive regime of fascism, neofascism, Zionism, and other reactionary dictatorships to disappear once and for all from the planet.

An extraordinary place is reserved in the draft of the new edition of the CPSU Program to the elaboration of the fundamental questions of foreign policy and international relations. In a creative way it explains issues of such importance as the class nature of foreign policy, the social and class functions of socialist foreign policy under the specific historical conditions of the present stage of mutual struggle between the two systems, or the effectiveness of socialist foreign policy in dealing with tasks raised by the present development and the continuously changing situation in the world.

In connection with the clearly formulated line of the CPSU aimed at elevating Soviet society to a qualitatively higher level through an accelerated develop-

ment of science and technology, the draft document also assesses in a new way questions concerning the mutual connections and interdependence of domestic and foreign policy. The Leninist precept about their close and inseparable connection is being filled with new content, which reflects the characteristic specific features of the present stage of social development.

From the draft of the program that is to be approved by the 27th CPSU Congress and the final touches to which are now being given by communists and all Soviet working people, with their creative efforts, clearly emanates the enormous revolutionary role played by Soviet foreign policy in the system of international relations. It guides revolutionary and democratic forces toward the solution of the most important international problems in a spirit corresponding to the needs of social progress, the class interests of the working people, and the aspirations of the majority of mankind.

In our era, in which--to use V.I. Lenin's words--"history is shaped independently by millions and tens of millions of people," the CPSU Program will have enormous impact on basic processes of the world development. From this follows also our duty to assimilate as profoundly and as thoroughly as possible the programmatic document of the CPSU--our closest fellow fighter for the cause of peace, socialism, and communism, for the ideals of all mankind.

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CPSL OFFICIAL ON PARAMILITARY EDUCATION

AU201700 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 15 Nov 85 p 4

[Interview given by Stefan Burcin, staff member of the Slovak Communist Party (CPSL) Central Committee, to Peter Onera, Bratislava PRAVDA editor in the domestic policy section: "The Place and Mission of Paramilitary Education; the Main Aim Is To Consolidate the Defensive Capability of the Fatherland"; date and place of interview not given]

[Excerpts] The processes of the population's paramilitary education and of creating the right attitude toward the fatherland's defense are both a part of the decisive tasks of our society. Peter Ondera, editor in PRAVDA's domestic policy section, discussed the current situation in realizing the CPCZ's goals in paramilitary policy and the basic problems of realizing the Uniform System of the population's Paramilitary Education with Stefan Burcin, staff member of the CPSL Central Committee.

"It can be said that we have noted a qualitative shift in our citizens' minds since the 14th CPCZ Congress and CPSL Congress, a shift in their understanding of the Leninist principle of the unity of building and defending the socialist fatherland. The responsibility of agencies and organizations for the level of enhancement of the citizens' paramilitary awareness and their defense preparation has increased; the influence of party agencies and organizations in the Slovak SR on the process of realizing, and checking on, the fulfillment of resolutions on the population's paramilitary education has deepened," Comrade Burcin said at the beginning of our talk.

[Ondera] What has influenced most the development of our citizens' paramilitary awareness in the recent period?

[Burdin] Undoubtedly it was, first and foremost, the change of the international situation, its exacerbation. The endeavor undertaken by the imperialist circles to achieve a direct military confrontation is logically also reflected in the minds of our citizens--in their greater responsibility for the defense of our socialist fatherland and in their realization that the chance that a potential adversary could realize his aggressive plans decreases with the growth of our economic potential and with the consolidation of our fatherland's defense.

[Ondera] Which criteria can be considered decisive in appraising the standards of paramilitary awareness?

[Burcin] Undoubtedly, the decisive index in all spheres of paramilitary education must be its efficiency; that means the specific results of paramilitary educational influence. We must always assess the extent to which we are succeeding in fulfilling the basic demands set on enhancing our fatherland's defensive capability and on consolidating our Czechoslovak People's Army. This is no simple thing; paramilitary education is part of the entire system of socialist upbringing and a large number of factors operate in it. A certain role is played by the family, the school, the social organizations of the National Front, agencies of the state administration, mass information and propaganda media, and by other factors; but even Western ideology, which is pushing its way into our country by means of every form of ideological subversion, cannot but exert its influence, too.

[Ondera] One could surely cite many examples of the increasing share of paramilitary education in the entire process of socialist education and upbringing. But the results of certain sociological research projects are alarming....

[Burcin] True, we have among us citizens who entertain wrong views on service in the Czechoslovak People's Army and on the army's mission in our society. We also know that the behavior of many of our citizens toward the members of the Czechoslovak People's Army is not always in keeping with the behavior and morality of a citizen of the socialist fatherland. We have also encountered opinions which testify to a failure to grasp the current international situation in the world--stances ranging from lightheartedness to pessimism. Some of the research respondents, for instance, do not differentiate between just and unjust wars, they adopt pacifist positions and prefer any sort of peace, peace at any price, to a fight for national and social freedom; and so forth.

[Ondera] Obviously, such knowledge should also be the basis from which the orientation and contents of paramilitary propaganda proceed....

[Burcin] We must definitely not succumb to self-complacency. We should find a source of inspiration for our further course in the positive experience recently achieved by us in paramilitary education. It is scarcely possible to cite all of it; however, we value the work of ministerial commissions of the Uniform System of the Population's Paramilitary Education and of Commissions of the Uniform System of the Population's Paramilitary Education and of commissions attached to the Regional National Committee and National Committee of Bratislava, the capital of the Slovak SR. Compared with the past, they have succeeded in linking paramilitary upbringing more tightly with the specific needs of the Czechoslovak People's Army.

[Ondera] The summary evaluations of the party show that the current activity of individual social organizations of the National Front has a positive effect. But obviously there are also weak places....

[Burcin] Our social organizations have not yet exhausted their possibilities in the least. I will merely mention a few examples: The Socialist Youth

Union (SZM) organizes many actions with a mass participation; still, a part of the young people continue to remain outside the union's influence. There is room for improvement particularly in the SZM's cooperation with other social organizations. Another example is the Slovak Women's Union (SZZ): Its members are enhancing their efforts in developing paramilitary-patriotic, international, and emotional [as published] education, they are active in the process of training conscripts, they are developing contacts between mothers and sons who are soldiers doing their basic service; and the SZZ agencies publish many publications on paramilitary topics. Still, in many instances we must call the family a negative factor, such as when parents influence their sons' decisions on whether to enroll in a military school. The Czechoslovak Union of Physical Education should further increase its share in the physical training of conscripts, because it is generally known that the physical fitness of new conscripts has been stagnating and that we continue to have a large number of nonswimmers among them. Likewise, the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement (ROH) also participates in paramilitary education, leading its young members to adopt a conscious attitude to paramilitary duties supporting the reservists' active work in the conscripts' training centers. On the other hand, in many, even in economically strong, enterprises the ROH is not exerting adequate pressure to achieve the construction of paramilitary-sports facilities; or it is not always capable of resolving problems with the enterprise staff's participation in the training of conscripts, although legal stipulations furnish the ROH with the necessary prerequisites for this. In brief, although paramilitary education has a precisely defined social mission and place, its level and efficiency depend in many respects on specific managerial, organizational, and educational work.

[Ondera] The real causes of shortcomings in the sphere of paramilitary education were sometimes uncovered only with difficulty--perhaps also because it is understood summarily, as an intersectoral phenomenon. And it has become a bad habit of the agencies, ministerial departments, and social organizations mutually to shift responsibility to others, so that we often have a kind of vicious circle....

[Burcin] If we analyze problems, we often find that tasks are not being fulfilled because of an unbalanced attitude to needs and that purely subjective causes are in operation--most often these issues are neglected by the management of the agency or organization on the appropriate level. I will mention an example. A few years ago, the results of paramilitary education in the ministerial branch of agriculture and food did not correspond to our needs. The comrades analyzed the reasons, devoted attention to the problems, and the result did not fail to appear--today this branch is one of the best in the sphere of paramilitary education.

[Ondera] Recently we have had polemics about the school's mission in the system of paramilitary education, particularly in connection with discontinuing paramilitary education as a separate school subject in elementary schools in the year 1983....

[Burcin] In their activities our socialist schools are on the whole successfully fulfilling the party resolution on the Uniform System of the Population's

Paramilitary Education. The CPCZ Central Committee Presidium has appraised the operation of the school system along these lines. It is self-evident that the knowledge gained here again varies. A lot depends, above all, on the collective of teachers and on the conditions created by the school for paramilitary education. The high degree of feminization in our teachers' staff is also not without a certain influence. As regards the cancellation of paramilitary education as a separate school subject, and its incorporation into seven other school subjects and in out-of-school hobby activities--at present it is relatively difficult to evaluate the positive results of these changes. Opinions differ here, but one thing is certain: we will inevitably have to intensify the efficiency of our work here, to be more purposeful in organizing out-of-school hobby activities, to enhance the teachers' qualifications for a comprehensive understanding of paramilitary education, and to establish greater scope in schools for the activities of the Union for Cooperation with the Army (SVAZARM).

[Ondera] We regard SVAZARM as a key organization working in paramilitary education. Its activity, its multilateral forms and scope, deserve appreciation. However, what further tasks is this paramilitary organization to expect in the current situation?

[Burcin] It can be said that SVAZARM enjoys a natural and informal authority among our citizens. However, we still have basic organizations and clubs which lead a most one-sided life and fail to respect in their activity the society-wide mission of this organization; they devote insufficient attention to work with youth. We encounter there a campaignlike political-educational work; and, for instance, the clubs of ensigns and reserve officers are active in scarcely 5 percent of all basic organizations. Here, too, we have a lot to do.

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'REEXAMINATION' OF CONCEPTS URGED

AU180852 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 12 Nov 85 p 3

[Karel Rychtarik article: "The Principle of Purity: On the Leninist Type of Working, Thinking, and Acting"]

[Excerpts] Life continues by virtue of permanent movement. When a cardiograph stops registering its curves, it means irreversibly the cessation of heartbeats. Dialectics stands for the multidimensionality and inexhaustibility of the movement of nature, society, and thought. Dialectics has always been, is, and will be an instrument of revolutionary changes in society involves the halo of what would like to present itself as being eternal, definite, and "insurpassable," as being something absolute and given once and for all. Perceived dialectically, social development is a process involving interna contradiction and qualitative changes. In people's activity contradictions arise, develop, are resolved, and arise again and again.

An integral part of the currents of social processes today is our struggle for the minds, and in the minds, of the people. Social awareness is an active factor for social movement, a factor that cannot be replaced by anything else. It co-determines the success and the failure of transformations in our society, and the rate and effectiveness of these transformations. It is an inseparable part of the complex and extensive process which Soviet comrades above all today call the "rebuilding of social awareness."

It is precisely in this connection that the need is often stressed to overcome that which is given and to seek and assimilate new approaches. This need applies to every one of us--from the worker up to the government representative and the secretary of the party Central Committee. It is true also of the sphere of awareness that in the positive understanding and perception of that which exists materialist dialectics also incorporates its negation, that is the necessity of the extinction of the existing reality. Materialistic dialectics is in its essence critical and revolutionary.

The critical and revolutionary idea has always been an integral part of the Leninist mode of thinking and doing things. It is an expression of the world outlook of those who have never lost the sense of class connections and personal responsibility for that which was, is, and that which should be done.

The intensive dialogue which Soviet comrades are conducting today as part of their preparations for the 27th CPSU Congress also could not evade questions that are raised precisely by the dialectics of development. On the one hand, the building of socialism has registered gigantic, truly historic successes. On the other hand, it is impossible not to see a number of unresolved tasks that in principle could have been resolved earlier, as well as quite a number of outdated views and habits. Today these outdated views and habits take, above all, the form of the notion that necessary, profound, and by their nature revolutionary changes can be brought about by way of cautious, slow, and tiny improvements.

Addressing this issue, the journal IKOMMUNIST wrotes in its editorial this June: "What is needed is a leap, it is necessary to interrupt gradual development. Otherwise the danger could become quite real of a slower rate in the growth of living standards and of a curtailment of the program of increasing material prosperity..., focusing on tiny improvements would be equivalent to falling hopelessly behind in the historic competition between the two antagonistic social systems."

To understand and accept these approaches means to understand and accept also the reality from which they proceed--namely, that socialism is, inevitably, a society of contradictions. This reality has its quite concrete repercussions and concrete contents. [Words indistinct] merit but it also has its quite concrete shortcomings, shortcomings that derive from at least two sets of causes:

The first set of causes is necessarily objective: If the socialist society is an immature society, we must then acccpt that this entails an "immature social situation" and an "immature state of awareness." Therefore, we must inevitably also characterize some existing theoretical concepts as "immature." The contradictory nature of socialism must not be perceived as some kind of abnormality, as something of a short-term and temporary nature that was brought about solely and exclusively by our mistakes or by the ideosubversive influence of the adversary.

The second set of causes is subjective. A considerable number of the shortcomings in our social life are caused by our mistakes and errors, by the inability to adopt and assert a system of management that would provide incentives for all groups of the population to work honestly and with dedication, and that would lead to scientific-technical progress. We pay a heavy price for the various manifestations of formalism and voluntarism of the past years. Scope for voluntarism is created wherever the new situation and the dynamism and real possibilities of our movement are not fathomed, in all places where we did not live up to the objective needs of the party's cognitive function.

The frankness and concreteness with which Soviet materials, especially those published in the last few months, point to these facts is only seemingly unusual. The foremost feature of the Leninist style of work has always been the requirement to assess changes in objective conditions, to see the situation as it is, and not as we would prefer it to be.

That is also why Mikhail Gorbachev draws attention to the fact that we must far more realistically assess the level of economic maturity and analyze the consequences of formalism and bureaucratism in party work. Herein lies one of the causes of the fact that "...changes in the objective conditions of the development of production, the necessity to accelerate its intensification, and changes in the methods of running the economy were not assessed adequately and in due course, and, something which is particularly important, that there was a lack of perseverance in preparing and implementing extensive measures in the economic area."

The demand to have a firm foothold in facts and not to confuse the nowledge of the laws and the true course of social development with emotions and willful notions is coupled here with a realistic, sober, and creative approach to work and with irreconcilability toward shortcomings.

It is a Leninist spirit and style of work that has been established here with such vigor and ardent appeal, with such openness, that it has gained, and is gaining, an enormous social foothold and support in all groups of the population, not only in the Soviet, but also in our society. The party of Soviet communists is talking openly with the people, exposing past mistakes and shortcomings and firmly and uncompromisingly formulating the demand for new forms and methods of work. This is not a program of political inertia, it is a program of political honesty.

The unusual--and let us be frank in saying that it is unusual--critical and self-critical approach, precision and matter-of-factness, and sobriety and realism in assessing things are meeting an unusual response. No one doubts that it is the Leninist style of work that is gaining ground here, that it is not a question of casting doubts on principles and tenets whose worth had been repeatedly tested by the communist movement. That is why the requirement is so often being voiced today to raise demands on, and the responsibility of, party members and to evaluate communists not according to their words and declarations but according to their deeds and work. There are not, and cannot be, any other yardsticks.

If we reject metaphysical musing connected with the voluntarism of unrealistic wishes and if we consider the fact that the building of socialism is necessarily a dialectical process that is full of contradictions, a process that is taking place under difficult international political conditions, then we must--when we respect all principles of the dialectical-materialist interpretation of the world of people, nature, and thought--reexamine some of our present concepts and views, sometimes even very profoundly.

This does not mean at all the belittling of results that we have achieved and also disregard for the struggles of entire generations, struggles that frequently involved self-sacrifice. On the contrary. The past is, above all, a period of heroic feats. However, the situation that has come about today is such that, in the interest of the cause of socialism, we must more soberly and realistically than ever before examine many an issue concerning the life of the socialist society. Otherwise, any reference to the principles of the Leninist style of work will become merely an empty and hollow declaration.

We would be insincere if we did not say that, precisely in connection with these requirements, fears are sometimes expressed as to whether there are not some officials [pracovnici] in our structures, especially economic structures, who long ago ceased to "feel the pulse of the working people's life." Concern for their personal provisions sometimes keeps them so busy that, in fact, they have no time to spare for the fulfillment of functions that were entrusted to them by the party. What is evident here is an unwillingness to "go out to meet the people," to get to know their problems and to deal with them, and to look for, find, and implement new approaches ensuing from the nature of economic needs and from the development of science and technology. The political awareness and managerial competence of these people frequently does not reach any further than the tip of their tongue.

Among some functionaries the idea that officials who for various reasons acquitted themselves badly might be recalled from their managerial posts is still associated with the fear that this might erode the party's authority. This is a false and utterly incorrect notion. The opposite is true.

Implementing the historical initiative of Soviet communists and successfully treading the path of active, creative search for the further socioeconomic development of the socialist society--this can be done only by those holders of managerial posts who do not hide behind the party's authority but who, on the contrary, shape this authority and are ready and able to assume responsibility for the difficult struggle for the comprehensive improvement of the developed socialist society.

The dialectics of the Leninist mode of thinking, Leninist approaches, and Leninist way of doing things is a process of incessant inception and extinction, a process of change, movement, and transformation. The socialist society, just as every one of us, is what it becomes in the process of its development. We bear inside ourselves not only that which mankind was, and is, but also that which it will be. And in the interest of this, the future of mankind, it is immensely important that we come to understand the dividing line and the conflict between that which is revolutionary and that which is inertial, and that we give support to and--through more effective recognition and action--develop everything which corresponds to the interests and needs of the further development of socialism.

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PLAN FOR ENVIRONMENTAL UPGRADING REVEALED

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 19 Nov 85 p 1

[Editorial: "To Preserve Ecological Stability"]

[Text] The level of care regarding the environment during the course of the past three 5-year plans has become one of the determining factors pertaining to the growth in the standard of living and, in some regions, has even become one of the limiting factors with regard to development of production forces. With its economic and social influences, this problem is having a constantly more express effect upon the opinion orientation of the populace and is also being felt with greater emphasis in international relations.

It may be said that, both with respect to the formation as well as protection of the environment, Czechoslovakia experienced quite a few successes during the years of the Seventh 5-Year Plan. However, some tasks in this area which were called for by the 16th Congress of the CPCZ will not be fulfilled in a completely satisfactory manner. They were not adequately, consistently, and comprehensively assured.

The formation and protection of the environment can no longer get by today without comprehensive and purposeful approaches to the solution of ecologic problems. This is caused both by the high degree of economic and social development in our society, as well as by the considerable density of the population over a relatively small territory, by limited natural resources and by the need to assure self-sufficiency with respect to foodstuffs. All of this should, simultaneously, be in harmony with the necessity to maintain the ecologic stability of the country.

It was roughly this position, as well as a number of other factors, which was taken into consideration in working out the Principles of State Concepts of the Formation and Protection of the Environment and the Rational Utilization of Natural Resources. This document, which was recently approved by the federal government, makes use of the concepts provided by the national governments and is the first comprehensive material which deals with care of the environment in Czechoslovakia. The Presidium of the Central Committee of the CPCZ lent its full support to this document.

The main theses of these principles are based on the assumption that care for the environment is among the fundamental duties of the socialist state and is an integral part of its economic and social development. The principles are also based on the fact that every organization which influences the environment, no matter in which way, is fully responsible for rectifying any violations it causes and for the effective elimination or utilization of all waste materials. Among others, this shows that the principles of the state concept demonstrate a broader understanding of the environment. This understanding also includes the problem of waste materials, foreign materials, management in the countryside and rational utilization of natural resources, as well as the problems of control, scientific-technical and investment policy, and international cooperation. It may be said that this is a systems concept involving the care of the environment and natural resources, based on the solution of the weakest links of the mutual ties between nature and society in the economic, administrative, and political sphere. Its goal is the gradual harmonization of ecologic, economic, and social aspects involved in the creation of healthy living and working conditions for man.

The primary intention of the principles is the limitation of negative influences of the reproduction process upon the natural environment, particularly where industrial facilities have high concentrations of production and extractive activity. Therefore, at the federal level, provisions to improve the cleanliness of the air will be followed on a priority basis, particularly in both of the capital cities, in the sub-Krusne Hory Basin, and in the Ostrava-Karvina Industrial Region. However, this does not mean that the other regions which require appropriate care and attention in this area have been forgotten. They will be the responsibility of the national governments.

Another priority interest in the state concept, in addition to limiting industrial emissions, is care with respect to the cleanliness of underground and surface waters, protection of the land, and efforts to preserve the fundamental values of the natural environment and beauty of our country.

In conjunction with the evaluation of the current status and the possibilities available to our economy, the above-mentioned principles create conditions for the mitigation of the tendency for the environment to deteriorate during the course of the Eighth 5-Year Plan. This is also the content of the state goal-oriented program No A 12--Creation and Protection of the Environment. It aims at supporting scientific-technical and investment policy in the area of the environment, it strengthens the research, development, and production-supply capacities which act together to improve the natural components of the environment.

It is expected that the extent of investments set aside for solving ecologic problems will attain approximately Kcs 17.5 billion in the Eighth 5-Year Plan--in harmony with the opportunities available to our economy. This is not a small sum and is not even the final sum, since funds from other social sources will also be expended on improving the environment.

Quite a bit will depend on how the above funds will be utilized in building projects having to do with clean air and water, for the utilization or

elimination of waste materials, etc. The attainment of the set targets of the state concept will be accomplished only if the ecological investments do not remain on the fringe of the interests of ministries, economic production units, enterprises, and national committees.

The state program for ecologic investment for the Eighth 5-Year Plan is oriented toward the realization of the most significant projects aimed at decisive sources of water and air pollution and at the elimination of waste materials. The intent is to improve the situation in the most heavily stricken areas. Consequently, the federal government--for the first time in Czechoslovakia--has designated construction projects for the protection of the environment as binding tasks which may not be exchanged for other types of construction projects.

The new state concept also specifies the strict principle that everyone who initiates a new investment project is fully responsible for eliminating all its future possible negative influences on the environment. This will undoubtedly make life more complicated for many an investor--even if the most useful construction projects for the national economy are involved. If this measure is consistently applied, we will all benefit quite a bit.

For a nation with high industrial activity, such as we have, and all the more so if its atmosphere is influenced by the results of high industrial activity in surrounding nations, there is no choice but to tread the path of purposefully improving the environment. No social goal must be realized at the expense of damage to the ecologic balance. The tasks which are outlined in the above-mentioned principles by the federal government are tasks of political and economic significance which determine the future socioeconomic development of our republic.

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CSO: 2400/70

## BRIEFS

IDEOLOGY OF PARTY DOCUMENT SEMINAR--A seminar held in Bratislava on 20 November was devoted to "The Ideological Aspects of the Lessons From the Critical Development in the Party and the Society After the 13th CPCZ Congress." At the seminar, representatives of mass information and propaganda media were briefed on, among other things, the process of disintegration and the causes of the failure of the ideological front in the sixties. The political and ideological concepts of so-called democratic socialism, revisionism, and right-wing opportunism were analyzed. [RUDE PRAVO/CTK report in the "By Teletype, Mail, Telephone Column"] [Text] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 21 Nov 85 p 2 AU] /8918

PEACE COMMITTEE DELEGATION VISITS FRG--Bonn--A delegation of the Czechoslovak Peace Committee led by its acting deputy chairman, Josef Krejci, paid a visit to the FRG from 4 to 9 November at the invitation of Bonn peace activists. The 30-member delegation, which represented a broad range of Czechoslovak peace forces, met with representatives of local peace and antiwar movements in Bremen, Bonn, and Cologne and established friendly contacts with them. At the close of their visit, which was the first of its kind in the history of relations between the CSSR and the FRG, the Czechoslovak guests were received by Heinz Welze, the mayor of Bonn. In the days to come, the leadership of the Czechoslovak delegation will meet for official talks with representatives on peace organizations and movements in Frankfurt and Main and Nuremberg. [CTK report: "FRG--CSSR: Meeting of Peace Forces"] [Text] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 11 Nov 85 p 1 AU] /8918

CSSR GREETS PLO--The Czechoslovak Government has sent a message of greetings to the Palestinian Liberation Organization on the occasion of International Solidarity Day with the Palestinian people. The message expresses the sympathies and support of Czechoslovak people with the just struggle of Palestinian Arabs for their inalienable right for self-determination and the establishment of their own independent state. The message also decisively denounced the attempts of the United States, Israel and the reactionary forces connected with them designed to enforce on the Arab countries capitulationist settlements through separate agreements. These settlements are designed to prevent just solution of the Palestinian issue as a heart of the problem in the Middle East. [Text] [Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 29 Nov 85 LD] /8918

BOLIVIAN CP LEADER--Jindrich Polednik, secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, held talks today with Simon Reyes, first secretary of the Communist Party of Bolivia Central Committee, on the activity and main tasks of the two parties. They decisively condemned the action of U.S. imperialism aimed at destabilizing the situation in Nicaragua, and they gave full support to the Sandinista government in its decisive struggle for the defense of the interests of the people of the country. They also expressed solidarity with the struggle of the Chilean people against Pinochet's dictatorship. The Czechoslovak side supported the effort of the Bolivian communists for the defense of the rights of the working class. The representatives of both parties advocated the development of mutually favorable cooperation between their countries. [Text] [Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1600 GMT 27 Nov 85 LD] /8918

IRAQI OIL MINISTER RECEIVED--Lubomir Storugal, the federal premier, received Qasim Ahmad al-Uraybi Taqi, the minister of oil of the Republic of Iraq, who is visiting Czechoslovakia, in the Hrzan Palace in Prague today. During their talks they assessed the results of current cooperation between Czechoslovakia and Iraq, especially in the economic field. They stressed both sides' interest to continue to expand and strengthen these links in the interests of the development of the Czechoslovak and Iraqi national economies. They also exchanged views on some topical international political issues, and the prospects for solving them. Also present at the meeting were Ladislav Gerle, federal deputy premier, and Eduard Saul, federal minister of metallurgy and heavy engineering. [Text] [Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1900 GMT 31 Oct 85 LD] /8918

ANC DELEGATION HOLDS TALKS--Miro lav Stepan, chairman of the International Union of Students [IUS], received yesterday in the Prague headquarters of IUS a delegation of the youth section of the African National Congress [ANC], led by the organization's first secretary, Andrew Mkhize. The IUS and ANC representatives discussed the concept of the joint program of the students' campaigns of solidarity with the struggle of the peoples in southern Africa against apartheid. Later in the day, Andrew Mkhize addressed an enlarged session of the IUS secretariat. [CTK report in the "International Contacts" column] [Text] [Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 13 Nov 85 p 2 AU] /8918

CZECH DELEGATION ARRIVES FOR CONVENTION--A Czech Communist Party delegation, headed by Central Committee member Karel Henes, arrived yesterday to attend the 20th convention of the Israel Communist (RAKAH) Party. The convention will open in Haifa on Wednesday. More than a dozen other delegations from communist parties in both the Eastern and Western blocs are scheduled to arrive today and tomorrow. [Text] [Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST in English 2 Dec 85 p 3 TA] /8918

CSO: 2020/43

DETAILS PROVIDED ON FIELD RATIONS FOR GROUND FORCES

East Berlin AR ARMEERUNDSCHAU in German No 9, Sep 85 (signed to press 4 Jul 85) pp 46-49

[Article by Lt Col Spickereit]

[Text] With a combined effort the mobile field mess unit is pushed onto the freight car, then wired and wedged. One of the last activities in putting together a military transport train. Behind the combat unit, in the long railroad convoy, the motor vehicles of the support troops that are indispensable to the units are packed: ambulances, tank trucks, mobile field mess kitchen...

For a few weeks life shifts from the barracks into the field. Many comrades have expectations of the bivouac but it also demands from them, like the supply troops, extraordinary engagement. Instead of tiled kitchen rooms, now sandy forest ground, instead of electricity, now briquettes. Deep pits replace the refrigerator, they have to use the water economically. It is imperative to economize and have the meals according to field needs.

At the edge of the trees, aside from the big trail on which the many vehicle convoys operate, the mess unit sets up camp, deploys. While the motorized rifle company takes up the starting position for the attack, the cooks and drivers prepare their place. Mobile field mess kitchen, water cars, produce tent, tents for quarters, parking spaces, garbage holes, emergency power aggregate, everything must be in its place because the soldiers will soon ask for something warm. The ingestion of the food in the field has no fixed times like in the barracks. That depends on the military duties and is ordered by the commander according to the tactical situation. Under the circumstances lunch may take place at 1600 or breakfast at 0500 hours.

Some companies receive their food here in the camp. Others, however, get it delivered by thermal containers into their operational areas. All operations should be coordinated, the routes exactly calculated in order to offer tasty and warm meals to the fighters, not delay the proceedings of the exercises and nevertheless satisfy the hungry. The operating time for the mess unit is then sometimes quite limited.

To be ready for action at all times for these comrades means to adapt continually to the concerns of the troops, to have hot tea ready, to have cooked a soup or to have already finished the goulash. The stocking of groceries, the

storing, the preparing, the refilling of water, the portioning, the heating, the opening of cans, doing the dishes, cleaning the kettles--out here the cooks and drivers can only allow themselves a short doze of sleep. The best reward for their effort: satisfied soldiers and the question--"you gotta second helping?"

Rations - Basic Standards
(daily in grams)

| | |
|---|---|
| Meat, sausage | 220g |
| Butter | 50g |
| Milk products | 300g |
| Shortening | 30g |
| Eggs | 35g |
| Fish | 45g |
| Cheese | 35g |
| Jam | 30g |
| Sugar, Candy | 30g |
| Processed Foodstuff | 60g |
| Potatoes | 800g |
| Vegetables | 300g |
| Fruit | 200g |
| Bread | 300g |
| White bread, pastry | 200g |

These standards, as a rule, are the basis for the meal planning within one 10-day period and in this time should not be exceeded or reduced.

Some standards increase for border troops and air crews (for flight duty) as well as for combat training with special demands.

/7051
CSO: 2300/541

SED RANKS THINNED BY EXPULSIONS

Bonn INFORMATIONEN in German No 21, 1 Nov 85 p 7

[Unattributed article: "More Than 5,000 SED Members Expelled From the Party"]

[Text] Following "personal talks" ordered by the SED Central Committee, 5,146 members or candidate members of the SED (about 0.23 percent) have been removed from the SED. The party parted with 3,787 members or candidate members "who did not fulfill the norms of the party statute" through expulsion or by striking them off. Of these, 1,129 were expelled, and 2,658 members and candidate members were struck off. (According to the party statute, expulsion is considered to be the harshest party punishment; it can be meted out, among other things, against anyone who violates the "unity and purity of the party, fails to fulfill its resolutions," or "does not heed intraparty democracy." According to the statute, members are struck off if they "have lost contact with the party or do not have the desire to fulfill the duties connected with party membership.") In the case of a further 3,167 members or candidate members, "a decision about their continuing party membership is yet to be made." In addition, 1,359 persons, including 37 candidates, declared they were quitting the party. These statistics are contained in an analysis of the Secretariat of the SED Central Committee published in the SED organ NEUES DEUTSCHLAND on 17 October 1985 under the heading "Report About the Course and Results of the Confidential Individual Talks With All Party Members and Candidate Members." It was reported in it further that the talks--within the framework of the current party elections--were conducted with more than 2.27 million members or candidate members in the almost 60,000 basic organizations and more than 26,000 department party organizations. With 6,050 members or candidate members, who were away or ill, talks are still pending, while 430 refused to attend. The analysis cited the following main reasons for leaving the party: No contact with the party, 74.1 percent; behavior prejudicial to the party, 19.1 percent; unjustified personal demands, 6.8 percent. According to the report, most party members "showed up for the talks well prepared," and the talks had a "great educational effect." For example, the talks showed "that the role of production workers in the life of the party must be raised even further and that the worker's word must be made to count even more." In addition, it had been necessary in the talks to deal with the "attitude of individual comrades" who had tried to "trivialize their shortcomings in mastering the reproduction process and in the work of long-term planning." Further, "some

leading cadres" had to be told "to pay more attention to the views and proposals of workers and to struggle more energetically with the force of the collective for a change in criticized conditions in the production process." The talks had made it clear that "a number of leader comrades have to develop a more pronounced sense of duty regularly to give an accounting to party and work collectives." Finally, the report states in this connection: "In line with the party statute and socialist justice, it is necessary to proceed regardless of the individual concerned against bureaucratic and heartless behavior and the shifting of responsibility by individual leaders and employees."

8790/13046
CSO: 2300/69

SED PROMOTES CABLE TV FROM FRG

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German Vol 39 No 45, 4 Nov 85 pp 97, 99

[Article: "Only Snow--Civic Groups Provide for Western TV in the Region Around Dresden--With SED Support"]

[Text] So far the Dresden Bezirk has been pure GDR territory. Because it lacked the range, Western television has been unable to spread its pernicious influence in the far eastern part of the German Democratic Republic.

For years SED ideologists considered this region and some of its neighboring territory to be an oasis of homemade socialism. As in Mecklenburg in the northeast (see map), the people there were spared Rudi Carrell and Jacob's coronation, the Love Boat and bad news from the realm of the SED.

This is now supposed to change. Of all people, the comrades of the state party have now been putting in a word for the class enemy from the silver screen.

For months promoters, often members of the local SED, have been going through villages and small towns from Freiberg to Goerlitz offering to connect TV sets to the Western program. For a fee varying from 600 to 1,500 East marks--depending on the size of the municipal subsidy--citizens can become members of "pools" which, with the aid of superantennas and cable, are to open up the depressed East German TV territory to the ARD [Working Group of FRG Broadcasting Institutes] and the ZDF [Second German Television Program]. Anyone is allowed to participate, whether he is a functionary or pensioner, a mayor, teacher or dissident.

To save face, the party calls the pools private citizens' initiatives. But the authorities are told to give the enterprise their strong support. The state-owned trade supplies the needed technology, and the municipality the required land.

To get Western television into Dresden territory, the East German technicians need two things: a particularly powerful antenna on some hill nearby which, with the help of an amplifier, increases the reception signal from the West and a cable network through which programs can be transmitted to the connected television sets.

Great progress has already been made with cable connections. In numerous villages, cables fastened on wooden or iron poles run along entire rows of streets and residential developments. Some municipalities even place the cables underground.

Yet Western TV does not work out everywhere. In quite a number of places, the hills won't do as antenna sites. They are too low to even guarantee fair reception of the First Program.

Consequently many TV fans, for whom membership in the local association of West viewers means sacrificing a 100-mark or even a 1,000-mark note, are hesitating. Time and again there have been attempts by individual GDR citizens in the Dresden area to extend their individual television horizons with the help of expensive and complex private antennas. But often this results only in snow on the TV screen.

Receiving West German programs, strictly prohibited when the cold war was at its height, and taboo to this day in some circles loyal to the party, has been permitted since no later than 1973. It was then that GDR citizens read a surprising announcement by Erich Honecker in the SED central organ NEUES DEUTSCHLAND. Speaking before the Central Committee, the head of the SED had noted in passing that "anyone in this country can switch on or switch off" radio and television broadcasts of the Federal Republic "as he pleases."

The SED leadership is exceedingly well informed about the viewing habits around the country. It keeps commissioning confidential polls to find out how GDR citizens spend their television evenings. According to the latest figures, 85 percent regularly look at the "Today" news show on ZDF and/or the "News of the Day" on ARD.

According to SED people, it is entirely in the interest of the party for the land around Dresden also to be provided with news from the capitalist West. The lack of information from the West in this bezirk (called laughingly the "valley of the innocent" in the GDR) for years had resulted in unwarranted discontent. The number of applications for travel abroad was higher there than in any other part of the GDR.

This was what the party was trying to counteract with its campaign to promote Western television. Authentic TV news about mass unemployment, reduction of social payments and new poverty in the Federal Republic, the SED people thought, would deter many a person wanting to travel abroad.

This hope might be a vain one. Experience has shown that fatigue of the GDR overcomes its population in waves. Following an increase in applications in 1975-1976, the number of those wanting to travel abroad dropped steeply and rose again by 1982-1983--despite increasing unemployment in the Federal Republic.

Moreover, the anticipated effect of Western television remains limited for the time being. Dresden, with its 522,000 inhabitants, is being left out in the cold because at present it is beyond the capacity of the GDR to connect that large a town for cable.

The TV gift to the rural population of the Dresden bezirk therefore might have a simple reason: in socialism too, the people need a few private dreams. To have GDR citizens forget their everyday life by looking at the "Black Forest Clinic" in any case is cheaper than the East German television people having to produce their own soap operas.

Quite apart from the fact that they lack the ideological know-how for such kitsch.

1.
Reichweite der westdeutschen Fernsehsender im Gebiet der DDR (mit abfallender Empfangsqualität)

Key:

1. Range of West German television broadcasting stations in GDR territory (with dropping reception quality).

8790/12859
CSO: 2300/76

SUMMARIES OF MAJOR EINHEIT ARTICLES, NOVEMBER 1985

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 40 No 11, Nov 85 (signed to press 14 Oct 85) pp 962, 1055

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Otto Reinhold, member of the SED Central Committee, rector of the SED Central Committee's Academy for Social Sciences; pp 969-976. A translation of this article is published under the heading, "Development, Practices of Planned Economy Discussed," in a recent JPRS issue of EAST EUROPE REPORT: ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL AFFAIRS]

[Text] Socialist Planned Economy--Basis for the Policy of the Principal Task

> The planned economy system functioning in our country, based on the principle of democratic centralism, counts as one of our greatest accomplishments. How has it been perfected in accordance with the requirements of intensive expanded reproduction to continue in ensuring a high economic dynamism as a premise for consistently carrying on the unity of economic and social policy? How, in particular, does it function in tapping new sources of growth and closely connecting science with production?

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Helmut Koziolek, member of the SED Central Committee, director of the SED Central Committee's Central Institute for Socialist Economic Management; pp 977-985. A translation of this article is published under the heading, "Scientific Progress, Structural Economic Change Linked," in a recent JPRS issue of EAST EUROPE REPORT: ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL AFFAIRS]

[Text] Organic Link Between the Scientific-Technical Revolution and the Advantages of Socialism

> Using still more the advantages of socialism for coping with the scientific-technical revolution is of fundamental importance to our country's future. What premises are being created for it--from fashioning a modern material-technical base to forming the combines down to a high educational potential? What tasks arise from the necessarily still closer economic link of science with production? How do management, planning and economic cost accounting stimulate the solution of the tasks, presenting a great challenge to man and his capabilities?

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Willi Kunz, deputy director of the SED Central Committee's Central Institute for Socialist Economic Management, and by Prof Dr Wolfgang Salecker, department head at the same institute; pp 986-991. A translation of this article is published under the heading, "Comparison Between Combines, Goal Setting Emphasized," in a recent JPRS issue of EAST EUROPE REPORT: ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL AFFAIRS]

[Text] Performance Comparison and Best Values as Guidelines

Performance comparison and experience exchange in and among the combines and the orientation toward optimum economic values resulting from it are an indispensable element of our socialist planned economy. What principles must management activity pay attention to in conducting performance comparisons, and how does one expertly prepare for them? What are the new tasking areas coming more prominently to the fore in the new phase of implementing our economic strategy?

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Siegfried Schiller, deputy director of the Manfred von Ardenne Research Institute; pp 992-996. A translation of this article is published under the heading, "Technological Development, Industrial Benefits Cited," in a recent JPRS issue of EAST EUROPE REPORT: ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL AFFAIRS]

[Text] Foremost Technologies Demand Daring

It is no easy task to turn scientific-technical top achievements into the basis for our dynamic economic growth, yet it is one that conforms to our remarkable economic potential. What experiences has the Manfred von Ardenne Research Institue had in coping with this task? How does one produce an absolute urge in researchers, scientists and technologists, and in their industrial partners, to thrust into R&D virgin territory, does one promote the risk willingness that is indispensable for it, achieving stable motivations for high achievement?

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Hans-Joachim Beyer, research program head at Institute of the Political Economy of Socialism at the SED Central Committee's Academy for Social Sciences; pp 997-1000. A translation of this article is published under the heading, "Combine Operations, Effectivaness Detailed," in a recent JPRS issue of EAST EUROPE REPORT: ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL AFFAIRS]

[Text] Experiences and Requirements of High Flexibility in the Combines

Decisive for our economic performance growth is how the combines manage to make the reproduction process more flexible, hasten the entire cycle and put new products on the market, proper as to deadlines and demands, whereby to achieve high economic results. How do they, through sales oriented management, use their chances of adapting the entire reproduction process to sales requirements?

[Summary of article by Kurt Hager, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee; pp 1001-1009. A full translation of this article is published in this report]

[Text] Science and Education for the Future

About developmental problems in ideology, social strategy and practical politics and the mental absorption of the revolution in the productive forces with their profound effects on production and the production structure. What implications are derived from it for universities and colleges in terms of basic research, cooperation with industry, research and instruction, and their enhanced science capabilities and social efficacy?

[Summary of article by Guenter Sieber, member of the SED Central Committee and department chief in it; pp 1010-1016.]

[Text] Today More Than Ever the Call Goes Out to All

In view of the threat mankind is exposed to by the confrontation and arms buildup course by the most aggressive, particularly U.S., circles, it is of decisive importance to reinforce the worldwide struggle for peace and detente. As in all the 68 years of its existence, Soviet power still stands today in the front rank of this struggle, providing a safe base for it through its peace-commanding strength and its active foreign policy. The GDR stands firmly by the side of the USSR and the other states in the socialist community on behalf of peace and social progress.

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Hans-Joachim Boehme, member of the SED Central Committee, minister of university and technical school affairs; pp 1017-1022. A full translation of this article in published in this report]

[Text] Advanced Training for University and Technical School Cadres

To ensure the educational lead for the resolute implementation of the economic strategy, advanced training for university and technical school cadres is more and more gaining an importance comparable to that of training. Which are the opportunities that must be further explored for advanced training--for engineers and economists in particular--in close cooperation with the partners in the practical fields?

[Summary of article by Dr Guenter Bohn, secretary of the FDJ Central Council; and Hans-Juergen Boettger, graduate social scientist, political staff member of the SED Central Committee; pp 1023-1028]

[Text] MMM--Challenge for Revolutionary Action

How do the Fair of the Masters of Tomorrow and the FDJ youth research collectives promote creativity in youth? What are the consequences for giving the MMM movement more substance and breadth, assigning ambitious tasks to all youth brigades and pushing the FDJ youth research collectives as initiators in the effort toward scientific-technical top achievements?

[Summary of article by Guenter Hempel, graduate political scientist, sector chief in the SED Central Committee; pp 1029-1034]

[Text] Latin America's Peoples Against U.S. Supremacy

The struggle of the Latin American peoples for peace, national independence and social progress has received a new spur and opposes the forcible efforts by U.S. imperialism to reestablish fully its supremacy over that continent. What place is taken by the Latin American communist parties in the struggle for democracy and against reactionary military dictatorships? The activities of the Contadora states for a political solution in Central America.

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Manfred Engert, director of the Institute for the Socialist Countries' Economics and Politics, at the SED Central Committee's Academy for Social Sciences; pp 1035-1040]

[Text] U.S. Confrontation Course, Crisis and International Economic Relations

Also in the field of international economic relations, Washington's maneuvering is marked by its search for supremacy. As a component and tool of the confrontation course and of imperialist designs at "coping with the crisis," it is not only aimed against socialism, but produces heavy ramifications for the developing countries. What, in turn, is the significance of the socialist countries' course toward broad cooperation by all forces interested in a recovery of world economic relations for a struggle to safeguard peace?

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CSO: 2300/73

PROSPECTIVE DEVELOPMENTS IN EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM NOTED

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 40 No 11, Nov 85 (signed to press 14 Oct 85) pp 1001-1009

[Article by Kurt Hager, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee: "Science and Education for the Future"]

[Text] In his preface to the "Phenomenology of Mind," completed on the eve of the battle of Jena and Auerstedt, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, professor extraordinarius at his alma mater of Jena, wrote: "It is surely not difficult to see that our time is a time of birth and transition to a new period."* With a deep sense of history Hegel had grasped the emergence of bourgeois society as adumbrated in the industrial revolution in England, the French Revolution and the appearance of Napoleon. Bourgeois society, however, was by no means able to turn into reality the ideas of a new period and the ideals of bourgeois humanism. They shattered against the contradictions of capitalism, fascism and the horrors of World War II.

The new period Hegel envisaged did not start for our people until the Soviet Union and its allies had liberated it from Hitler fascism. That initiated an irreversible historic process. In reviewing the last 40 years we have every good reason to assert that we have persistently and purposefully followed the path that took us from the antifascist-democratic transformation via the founding of the GDR and the construction of socialism to the shaping of the developed socialist society, the effort to which we are dedicated today. Its realization will become possible only through a lenghty historic process that cannot be demarcated in terms of time, and in it, as the SED party program states, the prerequisites will be laid for the gradual transition to communism.

In April next year the 11th SED Congress will take counsel on how far we have come in shaping the developed socialist society in the GDR and how SED policy, aimed at the well-being of the people and the safeguarding of peace, can continue to be carried out with success. Here it may be assumed that the GDR has achieved a remarkable material and cultural standard of living for the people on an international scale. Great advances have already been made in

*"Phaenomenologie des Geistes," Akademie publishing house, Berlin, 1964, p 15.

resolving the housing issue as a social problem. Based on socialist production relations the kind of development of our economic potential became possible that allows an ever better satisfaction of the citizens' basic needs like food, clothing, health care, culture and recreation. Secure jobs, a 10-grade school education and skilled training and advanced training are among our significant social accomplishments.

At the 10th SED Central Committee session Erich Honecker affirmed that the course of united economic and social policies will continue. "With this policy the SED will cross the threshold to the year 2000," he said. "We shall achieve the economic performance growth needed for it in accordance with the proven economic strategy for the 1980's, i.e. through the comprehensive intensification of all economic sectors, by still more broadly connecting the results of the scientific-technical revolution with the advantages of socialism, whereby to create all the prerequisites for a continuing gradual elevation of the people's material and cultural standard of living."*

In other words: To raise further the people's standard of living, meet our international obligations, and secure and extend the GDR's place among the progressive and industrially developed countries--in close cooperation of course with the Soviet Union and the other CEMA countries--steady and dynamic economic growth continues to be necessary, its most important criterionbeing a long-term stable and high growth of the social labor productivity and of our efficiency. Its basis more than ever lies in the hastening and greater economic and social efficacy of scientific-technical progress.

Karl Marx, who graduated from Jena University, in his preliminaries for "Das Kapital" in the 1850's pointed to the objectively inevitable process of the growing importance of science by observing: "Yet to the extent that large industry develops, the creating of real wealth will become dependent less on working hours and the quantum of work invested but, rather, on the general status of science and the progress in technology, or the application of such science through production."**

A Revolution of the Productive Forces

We may assert that in the GDR science functions more and more as a productive force and the application of most up-to-date technologies is making fast headway. An efficient microelectronics industry was set up that is showing high growth rates. In chemistry and metallurgy refinement measures have successfully been carried through. Modern plants were built, considerable changes in the production profile of entire industrial branches are under way. This trend is going to continue in the five-year plan ahead.

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*"Zur Vorbereitung des XI. Parteitages der SED. Aus der Rede des Genossen Erich Honecker, 10. Tagung des ZK der SED" [In Preparation for the 11th SED Congress--From the Speech of Comrade Erich Honecker--10th SED Central Committee Session], Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1985, pp 24-25.

**"Principles of the Critique of Political Economy," "Werke" [Works] Vol 42, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1983, p 600.

There exists agreement that for the development of the natural sciences and technology in the GDR in the period up to 2000 and beyond some chief trends or key technologies constitute points of special emphasis. In the next 15 to 20 years microelectronics, data processing and automation technology are likely to have the greatest and decisive influence on the upgrading of products and methods and on improving labor productivity and efficiency. However, such processes as enhanced refinement of raw materials and energy sources, the development of new working materials, a more rational energy use and the development of nuclear energy and, not last, the development and increasing application of biotechnology in industrial and agricultural production, in public health and environmental protection must by no means be neglected. Special weight attaches to automated design and production preparation (CAD/CAM), automated flexible processing systems and robots, the introduction of new processing technologies, laser technique included. Of course, consideration has to be given way ahead of time to new long-term scientific and scientific-technological developments.

We can already imagine what the material-technical base of socialism will look like by the end of the century. The systematic development and application of the key technologies will more and more bring about a revolution of the productive forces with striking changes in production and the production structure. Only think of the technologies that absolutely depend on efficient information technology, the use of microelectronics in the metal processing industry or the changes going on in metallurgy, chemistry, glass and ceramics industry because of the use of high-grade working materials and accessories.

It becomes clear that through the broad introduction of efficient decentralized information-processing technology a qualitative leap will become possible into controlling many of these material, as well as some mental, processes.

Precisely this breadth of effects to be expected and in part already suggested with respect to the productive force of social labor entitles us to speak of a revolution of the productive forces comparable in its dimensions to the introduction of machine tools and the steam engine in the 18th century. While then mainly man's physical capacities were multiplied by a purposeful use made of the forces of nature, today certain mental processes are being exponentially raised. While through the subsequent development of transport and electrical engineering the availability of energy and matter and their conversion practically became possible any place on the earth, today, through decentralized computer technology and the communications technology connected with it, the availability and job-related processing of information have become possible.

Many consequences of this development are not yet foreseeable today. Social, natural and technical scientists, mathematicians and information specialists are called upon to create conceptual and theoretical leads, rapidly generalize experiences gained, presciently avoid possible mistakes, and use and expand the potentials of the socialist planned economy and of socialist economic integration.

## Man--The Principal Productive Force and Measure of All Things

The new technologies can be developed and disseminated and used in a manner conducive to our social order only if the conceptual and theoretical thought and the willingness and ability for cooperation of scientists in various disciplines and between scientists and men of practice are evolved properly. The revolution of the productive forces can only be coped with through a process of collective learning. In it, the availability, reliability, user-friendliness and capabilities of the new technologies will increase more and more, yet what is decisive are the lead ideas, the problem solutions for the rationalization of the processes.

Man is and remains the most important factor for the development and introduction of these new techniques and technologies. He is the principal productive force and simultaneously--in socialism--the measure of all things.

Science, techniques and technology ultimately are only means to satisfy the needs for improved working conditions, for more leisure, for the protection and preservation of the environment, for social security and safety, and for higher and better used skills and cultural experiences.

Science and technology data always come from man's creative work. That work is subject to constant changes. When technical systems take on information functions that can be formalized, from computer-aided constructive and technological designs to fully automated production lines, create the possibility to relieve man of many schematic and routine processes and control and supervisory functions so that he will become more effective in his intellectual-creative activities. Introducing new techniques and technologies generally requires of manpower higher education and skills, more flexibility and diversification. The changes in the character of labor and in working and living conditions affect the production worker and engineer as much as the scientist in the research institute or the physician in a medical institution. It would probably be highly worthwhile to explore more thoroughly still the role of man as the principal productive force in connection with the new trends in scientific-technical progress by philosophers, sociologists, psychologists, scholars of cultural theory, labor scientists and other social scientists.

## Peak Performances--Top World Standards

In presenting his idea of a university, Wilhelm von Humboldt pointed out that it was a characteristic of higher scientific institutions that they "always deal with science as a problem that has not yet been quite solved, so that they keep researching." Elsewhere he stresses that in the inner organization of higher scientific institutions everything depended on "maintaining the principle of looking at science as something not yet fully found and never to be fully found, so that they incessantly keep looking for it."*

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*"On the Internal and External Organization of Higher Science Institutions in Berlin," "Werke" in 5 volumes, Vol 4, Ruetten & Loening publishing house, Berlin, 1960 etc., pp 256-257.

This conception of science as a creative process calling for a sense for what is new and for the ability to depart from traditional, conventional ideas might seem to be self-evident. Seeking a consistently high theoretical and methodological science level remains a necessary demand nevertheless. It implies the promotion of interdisciplinary cooperation and of a constant further development of the science disciplines as much as a knowledge of the trends in science development and of the concrete, material-technical, economic and social conditions for the implementation feasibility of new data.

University affairs and the Academy of Sciences are responsible for basic research the task of which it is to achieve peak performances and have a hand in determining top world standards.

Through the party and government resolutions on the principal trends and foci of natural science and technology and the long-term cooperation program with the Soviet Union and other socialist states in science and technology provide a safe basis for long-term basic research, guidance to fields where an internationally recognized level has already been achieved or rates as the objective, fine prerequisites existing for scientific top achievements. This requirement is being vested in the basic research 1986-1990 Five-Year Plan and in the conception of the Academy of Sciences and university affairs on the long-term development of basic research up to 2000 in mathematics and natural and technical sciences. The long-term developmental conception of Friedrich-Schiller University conforms to that guideline.

In medical research the major trends and emphases up to 1990 were precisely determined by the 20 July 1985 resolution from the Council of Ministers. That had been preceded by a broad democratic debate with the scientists involved.

The medical research potential is to be strengthened further and concentrated mainly on those tasks and future-bearing research trends the successful dealing with which possesses key functions today and tomorrow for further advances in our socialist practical health affairs. Important to it is to deepen the cooperation between medical research and bioscientific basic research and extend the interlinking relationships with those industrial combines that are important to medical product development.

The central social science research plan provides the social scientists with the research guidance evolved with their active participation. They bear a great responsibility for the development of Marxist-Leninist theory, the spread of socialist ideology and the confrontation with anticommunism.

Science and Production

Under our social conditions the planning of the strategically most significant research tasks and the planned fashion of their being implemented are not only possible but are, to an increasing extent, a reality. Naturally, in every phase of our development we also must learn to adapt our cooperation mechanisms, such as those between science and industry, flexibly to new requirements. Everything must be done to hasten the use of economically significant science research data. A common focus on public interests is an advantage of the socialist society that must be used daily anew.

The magnitude of the tasks to be solved in basic research permits neither pessimism nor mental indolence. Instead, what matters is to encourage at all universities, colleges and science institutions that innovator spirit, that drive for new insights, which expresses itself today in the creative achievements and initiatives of so many collectives of scientists, science associates and students. Research always has to seek new cognition, new properties, different solutions and working principles; it must never settle for what there is.

Important is along with it to develop purposefully those forms and methods of scientific work and study that ensure the highest efficiency and intensity and mobilize the scientists' and students' creative potentials.

There then the organic connection of science with production is what counts. Research cooperation among the combines, the Academy of Science institutes, and the universities and colleges is the fulcrum for further development. It must lead to reciprocal penetration and take its clues from overall social and, above all, economic criteria.

What is innovative is that the mathematical, natural science and technical-technological basic research at the universities and colleges is being made to conform with the combines' strategic requirements for new product and methods development. It means that the combines increasingly give universities and colleges orders for basic research, that universities and colleges offer the combines basic research data, and that R&D in the combines work together with the universities and colleges and the Academy of Sciences institutes in solving basic research problems.

The 10th SED Central Committee session decided largely to expand the combines' relations with the Academy and university affairs and to place them on a stable foundation by concluding commercial contracts. We are convinced such a cooperation on a contractual basis helps further deepen the science-production cooperation and basic research can increasingly better conform to the requirements for the combines' economic and technical-technological development.

Research and Teaching

An important trait of the universities and colleges in our country is the unity between research and teaching. This principle, developed by far-sighted bourgeois science managers in the last century, we have preserved and enriched and--principally in recent years--raised to a higher qualitative level by drawing students into the research. Decisive is for this process that the students get inspired for their field early in the game by having to solve research problems growing in their degree of difficulty and that they do not remain passive over against theoretical knowledge, but learn to ask questions. They mature in this process and ask much more of their teachers than in the classical forms of teaching. They become partners early and thereby, not last, are expanding the research potential.

Computer technology, entering the sections' exercises and practice, will aid in the acquisition of knowledge. A student today in a natural science, technical or economic discipline, using micro or office computers, can through

computer support deal relatively independently with mathematical or logical problems that but a few years ago could have been solved only through centralized large-scale computer technology. This can deepen theoretical training while in part accelerate the move up to scientific frontline problems.

Through the development of economic relations between universities, science institutions and combines, new opportunities arose for students and graduates to make a fine showing early in their efforts for scientific-technical top achievements. Also the relations between the working youth and the student youth can develop more purposively. We endorse the desire of the FDJ to make a still weightier contribution to economic development and steady scientific-technical growth through theses, engineering projects and dissertations.

Scientific Capability and Social Reality

In his speech at the 12th FDJ Parliament Erich Honecker said there could be nothing more beautiful and nothing better for youth but "carrying the banner or the revolutionary accomplishments of our century across the threshold of the year 2000" and to feel called upon "to connect the scientific-technical revolution with the advantages of socialism."*

Those sentences elucidate not only the magnificent prospects the young generation has, they also underscore the absolute unity of technical and political education youth needs to create its own life. To bring about this unity in the entire process of studies, through the concerted efforts of the specialists and those who teach the basics in Marxism-Leninism, is an indispensable condition for having such students graduate from the universities who can make an essential contribution to the shaping of the developed society in a responsible position and who have developed the ability and willingness to acquire knowledge on their own even after their studies and develop politically responsible thought and conduct relative to the whole context.

In view of the dynamic course of the scientific-technical revolution, college education must be as sound and as elastic as never before. To be able always to take up the most recent science and technology accomplishments and react to the needs in social development, higher attention is warranted to the requisite educational lead, the "knowledge for tomorrow." A key issue for it, it turns out, is the proper proportion between basic and specialized knowledge in teaching and studying. By a broader and more deeply founded basic training in the social sciences, mathematics, the natural sciences and the technical fields, we conform to the objectively necessary "alteration of labor, flow of function," to the "all-round flexibility," in terms of the educational ideal established by Karl Marx.

Marx was after "man's absolute availability for changing work requirements," after replacing "the partial individual, merely a carrier of a social function of detail, by the totally developed individual, to whom various social functions are just modes of activities replacing one another."**

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*NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 25/26 May 1985, p 3.

**"Das Kapital," Vol I, "Werke," Vol 23, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, p 512.

From that aspect, the 28 June 1983 SED Central Committee Politburo resolution on revamping the training and advanced training for engineers and economists gains special weight. The broad debate on that conception in colleges and technical school facilities as well as in combines and enterprises, the steps jointly taken to lend substance to the conceptual considerations, and the great attention publicly paid to the matters relating to it clearly reflect the grown responsibility of educational institutions and practical sectors for cadre training. This close connection is important not only for creating an educational lead for engineers and economists who significantly affect the technical-technological level of production, boosts in labor productivity and the management, planning and economic cost accounting. It leads to consequences of principle in further fashioning the science-production cooperation and providing more expertise for university and technical school training.

Through further steps in deepening basic training and differentiating the forms of training and advanced training, through having the students engage in scientific work of their own, and through effectively developing the advanced training system and better reciprocity between training and advanced training, universities and colleges can ensure the higher degree needed in the flexibility and reaction capability to changing social and economic conditions in college education.

That also forms the basis for increasing the achievements of the highest educational institutions in developing gifts and talents, mainly in scientific work.

The high demands made in years ahead on education and training, teaching and research, call for a high status and constant modernization of the material-technical base in colleges. That includes the rational organization of the scientific work processes and an effective use of of means and capacities available. It is of an importance of the first rank to tap the rich opportunities to rationalize mental processes and develop the productivity of scientific work through developing scientific equipment construction at the colleges and using modern information technology and other means.

With an eye to the year 2000 we are setting ourselves the task of further developing the universities and colleges as important centers of science, high education and culture. The idea is further to raise their scientific capability and social efficacy in still more emphatically bringing to account science and college education as factors of the first rank for high dynamics in social and economic development and for a varied and rich intellectual-cultural life.

Our Era and Our Responsibility

In the last third of the 20th century, often called the nuclear age, the space age, or the age of information technology, we recall an idea by Friedrich Schiller, expressed in his famous inaugural academic address in Jena, nearly 200 years ago, in troubled world historic times. Friedrich Schiller speaks of the dreams and potentials of creative man and the indissoluble connection of the past, present and future: "All previous ages have exerted themselves to bring about our humane century--without knowing it or accomplishing it.

Ours are all the treasures that diligence and genius, reason and experience have finally brought home through the long age of the world."*

Indeed! In view of today's possibilities of natural science and technology and of the currently suggested enormous revolution of the productive forces one might think man's strength now adequate to resolve all problems of human existence.

The scientific-technical revolution is only one side of the social changes marking our century. The essential mark of our age is that the transition period from capitalism to socialism has set in at a global scale. This era is not of short duration. It embraces a long historic period during which all states and peoples are drawn into the process of social transformation and renewal, on the basis of which alone it becomes possible to solve the social and global problems of our time, to eliminate exploitation, hunger and backwardness. For that the scientific-technical revolution is an important propelling force.

Our era would be incompletely described, were we to ignore the aspirations of the representatives of the old world, the aggressive circles of imperialism, doomed to perish, to eliminate socialism and repress the peoples' national and social movements. These aspirations have increased of late. That is now expressed by the design of the U.S. administration to gain military superiority through an arms buildup policy and the Star Wars concept, abusing scientific-technical accomplishments. That threatens a destabilization of the world situation and presents humanity with the danger of nuclear world conflagration and self-annihilation. To safeguard peace, the militarization of space must be prevented and effective steps have to be taken to halt the arms race, as proposed by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, in his important speech before French parliamentarians.

Peace is threatened by the policy of the most aggressive imperialist circles. This realization induces more and more scientists in the world to come out against the U.S. Star Wars plans and for a stop in the arms race. They are aware that using scientific and technical accomplishments for developing increasingly more horrible weapons of mass destruction is an abuse of the results of scientific thought and research and offends any kind of humanity.

We completely endorse the remark by Mikhail Gorbachev that humanity must survive. He said: "That can however only be ensured if one learns to live together and get along well on this small planet, if one learns to master the not so simple art of showing consideration for mutual interests."**

The GDR's party and state leadership, especially Erich Honecker personally, through their own initiatives and efforts, seek to create a cooperation of all forces which, with reason and realism and a high sense of responsibility to peace, oppose the decline of mankind in a nuclear inferno. Also the scientists

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*"What Is and For What Purpose Does One Study Universal History?" "Werke" in 5 volumes, Vol 3, Volksverlag Weimar, 1963, p 290.

**"Mikhail Gorbachev's Paris Speech--New USSR Proposals to the United States on Stopping the Arms Race," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 4 October 1985, p 1.

and science associates, the students, physicians and nurses, and the workers and employees in our universities and colleges are making an important contribution to the safeguarding of peace.

I have referred to the pervasive social changes in our century to make stand out the enormous historic dimensions of those tasks that we shall have to resolve in years ahead to strengthen socialism and safeguard peace now and in the future. The GDR, you know, is a part of the socialist world system, located at a focal point of the worldwide conflict between socialism and imperialism, progress and reaction, the forces of peace and those of aggression. On the thoroughness and speed in which the developed socialist society is shaped in the GDR depend our people's happiness and future and, with it, the magnitude of our contribution to the further consolidation of the socialist community and the solving of humanity's global problems.

Dedicated to the humanistic and revolutionary ideals and traditions, university affairs in the GDR also face the demands of the present and future, for the benefit and well-being of the people.

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# ADVANCED SCHOOLING URGED AS ECONOMIC NECESSITY

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[Article by Prof Dr Hans-Joachim Boehme, member of the SED Central Committee, minister of university and technical school affairs: "Advanced Training for University and Technical School Cadres"]

[Text] In the process of the further shaping of the developed socialist society, when pervasive political, economic, social and intellectual-cultural changes are taking place, science and education are becoming increasingly important. They increasingly pervade all sectors of public life and have a decisive influence on the economy and on the people's working and living conditions, their ideology, education and culture.[1] Higher demands on them are due mainly to the new phase in the sociopoliitcal development in the states in our community, the high speed of scientific and technical progress, the faster advances needed for comprehensive economic intensification, and the complicated tasks in the international class conflict.

At the 10th SED Central Committee session Comrade Erich Honecker explained that the GDR would cross the threshold to the year 2000 with the policy of the principal task and had what it takes for it.[2] Among the decisive bases for this long-term strategy is the vast potential of well trained specialists, technicians, master foremen, and university and technical school cadres--science and its application in the reproduction process being one of the decisive factors in our entire economic development.

More and more reality accrues to the ingenious prediction by Karl Marx, to the effect that the real wealth of a society is the developed productive force of all individuals and the full development of the individual in turn reacts as the largest productive force upon the productive force of labor.[3] Accordingly, socialist educational policy always has been and is aimed at constantly perfecting and expanding, in the social as well as personal interest, the conditions and prerequisites for all-round personality development. That also includes the development of manifold opportunities for constantly perfecting one's knowledge after the conclusion of training.

This position of principle is all the more important in that, in view of the given long-term conditions for the reproduction of the social labor capacity in the GDR, cadre training becomes an important source for the labor capacity growth. All society must adapt to that.

With a total of 1.8 million university and technical school graduates--by the year 2000 there will be circa 2 million of them--among working people, we command a great intellectual potential for coping with the tasks ahead. Investing it with high effectiveness on behalf of our social, scientific and technical development, requires that these cadres constantly deepen the knowledge they have acquired and that they always are provided with the latest in science, technology and economics. Thereby advanced training becomes an important lever for ensuring the educational lead needed and assumes a position more and more comparable to that of training.[4]

Thanks to the party's far-sighted educational policy, along with setting up a streamlined socialist educational system there has also been set up a complex network for continuing education opportunities in which, apart from universities, colleges and technical schools, educational institutions of the enterprises and combines likewise hold a solid spot. "Urania" also, the Chamber of Technology, science associations and other educational agents assume ambitious tasks in vocational training. Within all these advanced training agencies, our highest educational institutions have the specific responsibility to take on, particularly, the further developing and complementing and upgrading the knowledge of those cadres who already have graduated from universities or technical schools and have already had experiences of their own in the application of science.

To ensure high effectiveness with respect to this, one must proceed from a close connection and interaction between training and advanced training. Even while study plans and instructional programs are prepared for student training, one must take account of the future occupational or social activities of the graduates, and it must be determined which educational and training goals are to be achieved through training, and which through continuing post-graduate education. At the same time, all advanced education measures must be conceived while consideration is given to the training already acquired, and on that basis then must the latest scientific data, procedures and methods be taught. Conceiving and conducting training and advanced training as a complex and streamlined process calls for a self-reliant, ambitious, didactic-methodological structuring of advanced training, proceeding from an already established state of education and the attendants' experiences gained from their practical work.

Advanced training thus makes new and growing demands on the universities, colleges and technical schools. The effectiveness of advanced training measures for university and technical school cadres already employed greatly depends on the degree to which significant results, coming out of one's own and out of international research, are being conveyed that can produce the requisite educational leads. In turn, the attendants themselves often contribute to a growth in knowledge through their own experiences in applying the latest science data in their practical activity. Much more must be gained from this enrichment of instruction and research.

Educational Lead for Implementing the Economic Strategy

While in the past the advanced training for working cadres at universities, colleges and technical schools principally served to convey urgently needed basic science data for functions and activities already assumed or exercised, or to make graduation possible from a university or technical school, at present a functional change is taking place under the impact of the rapid scientific-technical progress and the dynamic development of the economy and of other public sectors. Advanced training now increasingly provides the cognitive and knowledge leads that are imperative for production substitution, for developing and producing new commodities by more efficient technologies and procedures, and for high increase rates in labor productivity and high rates for spreading innovations. Through controlling and coping with key technologies which have a great influence on science, technology and production, entirely new tasks arise in the work of designers, project planners, technicians, economists and other specialists. The penetrating consequences suggesting themselves, e.g., from the rapidly increasing use of information technology and its further improvements in all sectors of R&D, production, management and planning, or the requirements resulting from the application of biotechnology, the CAD/CAM technique, will lead to essential changes in the working functions of many university and technical school cadres and, hence, to requirements for higher skills.

Proceeding from there, universities and technical schools intensively seek to make advanced training opportunities practically ever more effective. The success of such endeavors will essentially depend on how the combines themselves determine and articulate the requirements and needs in advanced training, and how one achieves close cooperation in this field.

The highest educational institutions have addressed these new advanced training tasks for several years already. The comprehensive opportunities in this field and the growing number of attendants attest to that. In the period of the now ending five-year plan, the universities and technical schools had some 340,000 graduates, 55 percent more than in the previous five-year plan period. In 1984, in the universities alone, some 60,000 working cadres successfully attended various types of advanced training, courses, postgraduate studies, partial courses or as not fully registered students. Such advanced education centers as microelectronics/electronic components of the Karl-Marx-Stadt Technical College, energy economy and technology at the Zittau Engineering College, mathematical cybernetics/computer technology/data processing at Dresden's Technical University, metallurgy at the Freiberg Mining Academy, and polymer compounds of the Carl Schorlemmer Technical College in Leuna-Merseburg have a great share in it with their activities. A specific task goes to the institutes for socialist economic management in training executive economic functionaries.

For 1985 the universities, colleges and technical schools, in close cooperation and coordination with their partners in practical fields, offered some 600 courses and 100 postgraduate studies only for training engineers, economists and natural scientists. The broad spectrum of the technical sciences, e.g., contains many courses providing the engineers with more knowledge about using microcomputer technology for the analysis and control of

technical processes, the solving of complex tasks in the use of robots, and the rationalization and modernization of the material-technical base in the combines and enterprises.

By setting up CAD/CAM centers at Dresden's Technical University and at the technical colleges of Karl-Marx-Stadt and Magdeburg as well as at the engineering school for machine building and electrical engineering in Berlin-Lichtenberg, in this field as well the advanced training potentials are being concentrated and vastly expanded. In the 1985/86 school year, these four centers and another 12 universities offer nearly 100 advanced courses for chiefs, designers and technicians, and CAD/CAM developers and users.

For biotechnology above all the engineering college of Koethen and the Martin-Luther University in Halle-Wittenberg have set up advanced training courses that will help ensure the needed educational lead. The spectrum for tasks and problems in the foreign economy was purposefully improved; it covers circa one fourth of the courses geared to the economic sciences. An important contribution comes from university affairs furthermore to training the university and technical school cadres in Marxism-Leninism and foreign languages and to the teachers' and physicians' continuing education. For teachers, physicians and executive industrial cadres stable advanced training systems have already been set up; they are functioning successfully.

The quantitative development of advanced training in recent years was directly linked with enforcing higher demands on the substantive level:

--Advanced training was thematically more strongly concentrated on economic strategy priorities, mainly on the scientific-technical progress.

--Through resolutely implementing the principle of the unity of teaching and research, the latest science data and developmental trends are systematically and steadily being conveyed to the specialists in research and in the practical fields.

--The universities use their potentials for interdisciplinary work to convey data in important and propitious peripheral fields of science and technology.

--More attention is paid in instruction to the unity of natural science, technical and social science insights.

Crucial for increasingly purposeful advanced training has been that the cooperation relations of the universities, colleges and technical schools with the practical fields have become more stable and closer. By the results achieved thus far a good starting basis has been created to be able to meet the new social demands and criteria for advanced training.

Most urgent are the development and effective organization of advanced training for engineers and economists. A decisive guideline for that was issued in 1983 by the party's and government's "Conception for Structuring the Training and Advanced Training of Engineers and Economists in the GDR."[5] Its step-by-step application aims not only at improving studies in technical and economic science departments, it also touches on the long-range organization of university and

and technical school affairs as such. That concerns the future substantive structure of the educational process in conformity with the diversified public demands as well as new ways and solutions for still more closely linking training with advanced training.

More Accurate Criteria for the Opportunities and Forms of Advanced Training

Raising the effectiveness of advanced training for the benefit of economic performance improvements turns out to be a multilayered problem. The heavy changes going on in the reproduction process tend to substitute embodied labor gradually for live labor. At the same time, however, live labor, as the actual "vivid and forging fire"[6] of production, is gaining an increasing economic place value. Thus it is in practice more important than ever to be careful about and handle responsibly the working hour assignments. So the combines, enterprises and other practical partners need advanced training measures from the universities and technical schools that guarantee a high effectiveness in rational time allocations, purposefully and with discernment take account of the knowledge and skills on hand, and ensure great energy and creative participation by the ones enrolled.

Therefore it is up to the universities and technical schools to conclude firm deals with their partners in the practical fields on the object and ways and means of advanced training, to make sure that way that the ongoing and the prospective scientific, technical and economic requirements are fully taken into account. Above and beyond that, the division of labor cooperation with other training agencies, such as the science associations, the Chamber of Technology, "Urania," and enterprise training facilities, are made so diversified and purposeful that a high effect is attained. The practical partners, on the other hand, must make sure that the advanced training measures, set up in accordance with their own suggestions and desires, are fully used.

To the group of attending cadres and in accordance with the goal of advanced training, the following forms and possibilities should be further explored and developed:

--Intensive forms of advanced training studies and events where new insights of one's own and of the international science development are submitted or discussed. That sets the premises for putting out and for rapidly putting into production, through R&D, qualitatively novel commodities, technologies and procedures. Brief 1 to 2-week courses and problem seminars lasting a few days with executive cadres and scientists from the combines' R&D departments have been found beneficial for it. More than thus far should science affairs like research colloquies and dissertation defenses be used for it.

--Postgraduate studies leading to a vocational certification, conducted on the basis of a systematic delegating of attendants by the practical partners with the idea of instructing in new data and, together with it, specialized knowledge through a systematic course in rapidly developing science areas. They normally are offered as correspondence courses lasting 3 to 4 semesters or more and more also as one-semester full-time courses and have been found beneficial. Making postgraduate studies more effective requires, however,

checking the topics of the courses offered, rationally making the content of studies conform with any given objectives, and making the forms and the process more flexible. To that end one is also contemplating combining direct and correspondence courses in part.

--Extra studies for university and technical school graduates who through direct or correspondence courseslasting one or several semesters acquire additional training in a different field, might become graduate physicists, e.g., to work in nuclear power plants.

--A still more target-directed use to be made of the 200 consultation and counseling centers at the universities and colleges, as connecting links between the college and the practical field to foster a rapid research data transfer, and to provide target-directed counseling and experience exchange on scientific-technical problems.

--Extracurricular and systematic assistantships for scientifically qualifying a larger number of able engineers and economists for the R&D areas in the combines and enterprises and for assuming managerial functions in production preparation.

To train further engineers and economists with technical school degrees already holding jobs new solutions have to be offered that take account, particularly, of the quality of our technical school training and of the high effectiveness of the cadres concerned. Above and beyond the regular advanced training opportunities going along with the job, which will remain the main form of postgraduate training also for these people, special training courses are being set up--including a specific correspondence course program--to lead to university graduation or a diploma. To be delegated for it there must, above all, exist social needs calling for the upgrading of a science-oriented qualification profile for a certain group of engineers and economists.

Ensuring High Effects of Advanced Training through Mandatory Rules

It turns out to be urgently necessary to conceive of a systematic and obligatory advanced training for the university and technical school cadres in the branches and sectors of the economy that makes sure that the needed changes in the qualification requirements and structures are considered ahead of time and ensured by appropriate steps. One of the most important experiences in advanced teacher training and medical continuing education underscores that a planned further education of university and technical school cadres that will not settle for spontaneous reactions to passing needs must primarily be enforced as mandatory by the central state organs within the periphery of which these cadres work.

Through the "Conception for Structuring the Training and Advanced Training of Engineers and Economists in the GDR" the unity between training and advanced training is made explicit and its being implemented at a higher level is made into a demand. Thus a university graduation must guarantee the full professionalism of the graduates. At the same time it becomes ever more pressing, in view of the dynamic development of science and technology and the high innovation rates in production, to conduct advanced training measures

for graduates even during their early years on their jobs, to deepen the special knowledge they have for carrying out their specific functions and train them well ahead of time for work in different fields, as envisaged for our development. Precisely this process it is that must be made systematic and flexible and as compulsory as necessary.

Many conferences with combine and enterprise functionaries made apparent that planned, systematic and obligatory advanced training--indispensable not only for young graduates, but for all graduates--cannot simply be instituted by a superimposed administrative system. Rather, the heads of the combines and enterprises have to set down specifically which measures are necessary for developing their associates' capabilities. That seems to be right now the most important handle for enforcing planned advanced training.

A higher authority for establishing advanced training must be able to depend above all on cooperation agreements between the university and the practical partners. The many already existing agreements have to be more fully exploited with respect to advanced training. Especially good experiences have come from the cooperation between the Otto von Guericke Technical University in Magdeburg and the Ernst Thaelmann heavy machine building combine, between the Karl-Marx-Stadt Technical University and the Fritz Heckert machine tool combine, and between Dresden's Technical University and the NAGEMA Combine.

Together with the importance of advanced education for economic performance increases there also grows the need scientifically to penetrate this process itself within the scope of educational research. Together with many practical partners, the Chamber of Technology and the science associations, the Central Institute for University Education only recently conducted a scientific working conference on this set of problems with success. In its perimeter and at the conference itself we received many new suggestions on more effectively structuring advanced education and gathered many experiences worthwhile generalizing, yet we also observed the need for a more purpose-directed development and practical testing of new solutions. For ultimately all pertinent measures and considerations will have to prove themselves by being able to multiply the efficacy of the intellectual potential through the closer economic interlinkage between science and production, between the combines and enterprises and the universities and technical schools.[7]

In preparing for the 11th SED Congress, all universities and colleges, together with their practical partners, are working with greater efforts on further developing our advanced education. By solving this task of high social rank we shall make an important contribution to developing the productive forces of our socialist society, to economic performance increases, and to the consolidation of socialism.

FOOTNOTES

1. Zentralstelle fuer Lehr- und Organisationsmittel des Ministeriums fuer Hoch- und Fachschulwesen, ed., "18 March 1980 SED Central Committee Politburo Resolution--Tasks of the Universities and Colleges in the Developed Socialist Society," "V. Hochschulkonferenz der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik," Zwickau, 1981, pp 363 ff.

2. Cf. "Zur Vorbereitung des XI. Parteitages der SED, Aus der Rede des Genossen Erich Honecker, 10. Tagung des ZK der SED" [In Preparation for the 11th SED Congress--From Comrade Erich Honecker's Speech--10th SED Central Committee Session], Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1985, p 24.

3. Cf. Karl Marx, "Principles of the Critique of Political Economy," "Werke" [Works], Vol 42, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1983, pp 604, 607.

4. Cf. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den X. Parteitag der SED" [SED Central Committee Report to the 10th SED Congress], Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1981, p 95.

5. Cf. "Conception for the Structuring of the Training and Advanced Training for Engineers and Economists in the GDR," DAS HOCHSCHULWESEN, No. 9, 1983, pp 251 ff; cf. also Hannes Hoernig/Karl-Heinz Goiczyk, "Technical Sciences, Engineering Training and Scientific-Technical Progress," EINHEIT, No. 12, 1983, pp 1118 ff.

6. Karl Marx, "Principles . . .," op. cit., p 278.

7. Cf. "Zur Vorbereitung . . .," op. cit., p 34.

5885
CSO: 2300/73

BISMARCK BIOGRAPHY REVIEWED

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 40 No 11, Nov 85 (signed to press 14 Oct 85) pp 1049-1051

[Review by Prof Dr Konrad Canis, of the History department at the Humboldt University in East Berlin, of book "Bismarck--Urpreusse und Reichsgruender" [Bismarck--Prussian Prototype and Founder of the Empire], by Ernst Engelberg, Akademie Verlag, East Berlin, 1985]

[Text] Bismarck undoubtedly is a towering figure of German history. What access do we find to him today? The historic era that he and the German Empire, founded mainly through his efforts, belong to is irrevocable finished. We certainly have no wreaths to weave for the sworn enemy of the revolutionary fighters on the barricades of 1848 and the initiator of the socialist law. But that was not the whole Bismarck. He also is the chancellor who after 1871--differing from his successors--engaged in a realistic foreign policy intent on the empire's security, and mainly also he is the "royal-Prussian revolutionary" (Engels) who in his manner, the Junker's manner, from the top, helped historic progress, the bourgeois transformation, to make a breakthrough in important areas. All of Bismarck is what we are facing up to, as we are facing up to all of German history.

Such a remark is by no means new to someone who knows our concept of history. With the shaping of the developed socialist society a qualitative further development took place on a new plane of research marked, among other things, by that greater efforts were made to explore and present the totality of the historic process from which our society of today emerged, its dialectical contradictoriness and the constant struggle between progress and reaction. This is an old basic principle of Marxist-Leninist policy and its concept of history. Lenin demanded long ago, in 1921, that one must comprehend all sides, connections and reciprocities of a subject to truly understand it.

Thus also about Bismarck's policy Marxist historians have for decades presented many special studies and summary accounts. But a large and all-inclusive biography was missing. Ernst Engelberg devoted himself to that task and provided himself with the solid historical and source foundation needed for it through long years of research.

First came his dissertation on the struggle of the workers movement against Bismarck's social insurance policy, which communist Engelberg could complete just barely before he was arrested in 1934 by the fascist myrmidons and publish only years later after returning from his emigration. Then came the two university textbooks with their complex accounts for German history from 1849 to 1897 and the fundamental surveys on themethodology of historiography. From there came studies in which Engelberg, in a profound theoretical sense, illuminated basic processes of German history, such as the total process of the bourgeois transformation, the "revolution from the top," the Prussian reforms, and phenomena like Bonapartism and militarism. In parallel with it he worked up immense source material, largely also unprinted archival resources, on the biography of Bismarck's and the perimeter of it.

On such a foundation alone it was possible for him to prepare a Bismarck biography that combines methodological mastery in its presentation with a high increase in scholarship. Engelberg proceeds from the principal content of that era: the bourgeois transformation, the objective need for it and its specifics in Germany, and from the situation and politics of the classes, determined above all by the bourgeoisie's waving its claim, for fear of a people's revolution, fully to exercise its hegemony. From such specifics he explains Bismarck's elbow room, his "freedom under constraint," which amounted in his implementing, from his junker type of class position "partial progressive goals of the bourgeoisie in a fashion that also conformed to the interests of the Prussian crown" (p 571).

In dealing with the interactions between the events of the time and the individual personality, the author gives the latter his central attention in order to present from there the general connections, personality and environment in their concrete reciprocities and interlinkage. Decisive to him remains Bismarck's being socially and historically rooted in the Junker class and the Prussian state. Yet he seeks to grasp the dialectical unity between the social perimeter and the individual nature of the personality. In order to open up this web of relations, a great amount of space was devoted to an examination of his origin and youth and the beginnings of his political activity with the various influences that shaped the young Bismarck, and this through abundant source references and fastidious scholarly penetration.

That makes it possible, e.g., convincingly to explain Bismarck's early pronounced striving for power and his lack of fulfillment in the confines of a barren life of mere land-ownership or as a second-rate civil servant; therefore he can explain the roots of Bismarck's personality in a manner henceforth not achieved in all the literature about Bismarck. Moreover, this method announces generally a new level in Marxist-Leninist biography writing.

Ernst Engelberg pursues Bismarck's development up to the founding of the empire (1871). Out of the immense wealth of insights, in the following we shall merely point out some major aspects of this important work.

The 1848/49 revolution not only offered Bismarck the long desired opportunity for political activity, it became a political key experience to him, as the author demonstrates. Initially strictly dominated by the idea of a junker

counterrevolution, the events of the revolution then yet induced Bismarck to re-examine his previous positions. And a learning process started that began to remove him from the unrealistic ideas of his conservative friends, the Junkers. To be sure, he did not penetrate to the core of social structure and development, contemplating "not essential needs, but final necessities," as Engelberg puts it. His style of thinking "remained totally committed to empiricism. But precisely from there to a limited extent in time and space, he gained a realistic view of power relations and men in action and was able to develop a strategy and tactics" (p 453).

In 1858 at the latest it was complete. It aimed at strengthening the Prussian crown to preserve the power of the Junkers, at holding down the masses, especially the workers class, at turning down bourgeois-parliamentary and democratic claims to power, Prussia's hegemony in Germany, the barring of Austria, the divesting of the reactionary German League. This strategy and the tactics that went with it were tailor-made for the bourgeois-capitalist development. Bismarck had realized that the Junkers could oppose liberalism in central power issues all the more effectively, the more they would accommodate the national-political and economic aspirations of the bourgeoisie.

To be sure, he got the chance to carry through his program principally because of the bourgeoisie's fear of revolution and anti-democratism. "Out of the suspicious uneasiness of these bourgeois politicians about the masses there grew more and more the yearning for the 'great man' who would bring off the effort of the bourgeois transformation and the national-political unification" (p 484). For a revolutionary-democratic unification from below, however, there hardly were any chances because of the external fragmentation and the internal discord within the opposition. The workers class was not yet ready to assume the lead for such a movement.

Yet even Bismarck had to reconcile himself to enforcing his strategy under such conditions. They constrained him. From such dialectical interaction alone can one explain that and how Junker Bismarck became the executor of the 1848 revolution while remaining the custodian of its counterrevolution. Social conditions and personal abilities came together. Engelberg's summary: "Endowed with the rare gift to be able to grow above himself, a thoroughbred politician, he became the founder of the empire because he could do what he wanted to do and wanted to do what he could." His limitations are seen in his confining himself to an anti-democratic junker-bourgeois class compromise. The "developing workers movement he met with a profound sense of historic ignorance." Contradictory and ambiguous as he himself his work was too, "revolution from the top" and the founding of the empire, but "altogether it still was a significant historic step ahead" (p 761).

Even for the workers movement it was, however limited, a historic step ahead. While bourgeois historians confine the transformations almost exclusively to the politicl-governmental sphere, Engelberg also comprehensively works out the economic and social aspect of the "revolution from the top," the chances for capitalism to spread, the more favorable conditions for the development of the workers class and its organizations, which affected the development of the workers movement already between 1866 and 1870 despite of its being defeated by Bismarck's policy.

It was not easy for the functionaries of the young workers movement, just setting itself up, to look through such intricate interconnections. Some, Wilhelm Liebknecht among them, temporarily got close to federalist forces, in danger of getting onto the side of reactionary particularism. The book demonstrates how much strength the particularist forces still had at that time, especially in South Germany, "so that they, if need be, could foil Bismarck's plans" (p 704). Simultaneously the bourgeoisie put more pressure on him to complete the founding of the empire. His leeway for action was threatened, he felt jeopardized between the frontlines. It was, as Engelberg writes, "the toughest tensil test of his life," which was resolved only over the war against France (p 703).

Discrimination in looking at the class forces, political movements, states and personalities is altogether one of the special advantages of this work. Out of the great variety of examples, again we shall mention but a few: the important realization that the peasantry was already much more differentiated before 1848 than has always been maintained; the increasing division of the bourgeoisie into the trend of liberal politicians and ideologists and the "businesslike" bourgeoisie, with which Bismarck was dealing; the comparative analysis of the Prussian and the reactionary Austrian state before 1866; the lack of perspective in the Junkers' conservative currents; the discriminating evaluation of Lasalleanism; the striking characterization of Bismarck's contemporaries, such as Wilhelm I: "Three wars, three victories, thrice celebrated a dumb fool!" (p 758).

Ernst Engelberg's achievement is attributable to his exemplary mastery and application of the Marxist-Leninist theory and method of historiography, his comprehensive knowledge of sources, his penetrating intellectual confrontation with Bismarck's personality and environment, and his sovereign knowledge of overall German history in that era, and not last, to his vivid presentation literary in quality. Subtly attuned to whatever subject matter is to be treated, the author uses the whole scale of portrayable possibilities. The work impressively enriches our historical science and our image of history. One would wish the author to present his second volume soon, which goes into Bismarck's work after 1871 and the perspectives of his and the empire's policy.

5885
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PROFESSIONALS CONCERNED ABOUT THEATER'S PARLOUS STATE

West Berlin IWE TAGESDIENST in German No 171, 8 Nov 85, "kultur" supplement pp 1-2

[Article datelined IWE Berlin 8 Nov 85: "GDR Theater Congress Under Signs of a Crisis"]

[Text] The Fifth Congress of the GDR Association of Theater Professionals will take place in the East Berlin Congress Hall from 11 to 13 November. As confirmed by recent statements of cultural functionaries and theater managers, the congress is being held marked by profound structural, personal and also artistic crisis phenomena which are expressed, among other things, in a continuing decline in the audience. According to East Berlin information, the thus far smallest attendance figure of 9.8 million patrons was recorded last year. This applies equally to opera, operetta and drama. Martin Meyer, the GDR deputy minister of culture, attributed this development in the first place to the lack of quality of many stage productions. It is necessary "to get to the bottom mercilessly and emphatically" of the differences in theater attendance. At a Central Exchange of Experience convoked by the ministry of culture concerning this problem, on the other hand, the inclination was to make TV responsible for the decline in theater attendance, which has "created barriers to presentations that do not appear to be authentic from a documentary point of view among considerable parts of the public."

The development of the companies also causes worries in the GDR. The factual permanence of the position of the artistic staff in the opinion of many theater managers is the cause of stagnation and superannuation of the companies. As a result, a continuous replacement of the generation structure is prevented, Fritz Roedel, the director of the East Berlin Volksbuehne thought. In addition, there is a chronic shortage of new young talent, which is even more obvious in the musical theater than in drama. Especially the small and medium-size opera houses lack soloists, members of choirs and orchestra musicians to an extent that, in the opinion of the critics, artistically responsible performances hardly occur, apart from the necessary contraction of the repertory. But also the big, highly subsidized houses in East Berlin, Dresden and Leipzig do not fare decisively better. Thus the choir of the East Berlin State Opera has reached the stately average age of 49 years. Director Guenter Rimkus noted that in prominent voice fields for the Italian and German opera there are hardly any young singers in sight.

Moreover, theater work in the GDR is made more difficult by the political-ideological pressure exerted by the SED. The party criticism is directed against the "fatalist" staging of the classics as well as--and this to an even much stronger degree--against the contemporary plays by GDR dramatists. A study by the Academy of Social Sciences with the SED Central Committee on GDR drama from 1975 to 1982 comes to the conclusion that no author succeeded in "creating large stage figures with model character." The party is especially concerned with activating models on the stage. However, most authors "have no priority interest in that," criticized the East Berlin periodical THEATER DER ZEIT, but rather in the presentation of social contradictions.

The GDR theater landscape is as diverse as it is fragmented. At present there are 72 independent theaters with directors of their own, 36 of them multi-field stages. A total of 188 halls were used for performances last year. A fundamental structural reform has been under discussion for years in the theater association and in the Ministry of Culture without any tangible results being evident. Under discussion are combining of smaller theaters, more pronounced specialization of the stages as well as closing of theaters, especially in the field of opera.

12356
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FRG DAILY ASSESSES THEATER PROFESSIONALS CONGRESS

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 18 Nov 85 p 27

[Article signed "S.W.": "Theater Made to Order--the Congress of the GDR Theater Specialists Association"]

[Text] Like all branches of the arts, theater in the GDR has its own official umbrella organization. It is the Theater Specialists Association. The association gathered for its fifth congress, in Berlin, in the past few days. The news about such artists congresses always sounds good. In this spirit, NEUES DEUTSCHLAND reported that the great expectations of the congress had been completely fulfilled and that the debates had been marked by great political responsibility and sincerity. The optimism in public smoothes out the problems which have been voiced in the working groups.

The association's journal, THEATER DER ZEIT, at any rate, anticipating the congress in its latest issue, identified some of the acute difficulties. Under the heading "Where Are Our Standards?" it prints an interview presenting differing views on the question of binding artistic criteria. "I have the feeling that we do not always know exactly what we want because we do not have any precise intentions. Therefore we also allow a lot and are pleased that something is sprouting everywhere, be it good or bad, progressive or faddish. All his life Ihring fought for Brecht--that was his standard. That does not exist today--somebody saying, 'This is my standard.' And it is that very thing which represents insecurity, I think." In those words Christoph Schroth, acting director general of the Schwerin Municipal Theater, deplored the lack of discipline. And theater critic Dieter Kranz of Berlin radio replied to him as follows: "I do not see that kind of insecurity. Rather, I see various people applying various criteria, and I consider that to be legitimate. I refuse to say: I want that, and I don't want that. I want Harry Kupfer, and I want Ruth Berghaus." And this is how functionary Hans-Rainer John, chief editor of the association's journal, summed up the state of affairs: "At the bezirk delegates conference of our association, it was stated repeatedly that in our theatrical practice the balance between tradition and innovation often is disturbed, that the theater not always serves the new demands of new plays or imposes on old plays formal structures or contemporary attitudes which change their substance. Concerning such procedures, it was stated, there are no harmonizing attitudes based on uniform standards."

In an interview published in the same issue, opera producer Harry Kupfer voiced his support for a scope of interpretation determined rationally, historically and contemporarily: "One is under an obligation to come up with aspects which particularly concern us today. Then one can again speak of fidelity to the work, even if there perhaps emerges an interpretation which is quite different from the traditional one." On the other hand, he voiced strong opposition against a production which realizes itself in "contradiction to the musical diction" of a composer," saying: "It is being assumed today that a certain unity of spirit and music is not absolutely required. On the contrary, one finds it particularly fashionable and interesting to break these elements apart. For me, the unity of the musical and intellectual statement, the unity of word and music (and I speak of unity in the dialectical sense) is an iron law."

The party-oriented theater theoreticians say somewhat equivocally that they advocate stricter regimentation of the freedom of production, citing an international trend, as Rolf Rohmer does in the following statement. "The fact that producers of the Western avant-garde are turning toward 'traditional' theater is in accord with the new situation. However, imperialist neoconservatism also stands ready to absorb disappointed avant-garde hopes. Becoming again aware of traditions and making one's heritage one's own for current times is nothing new for socialist cultural policy and our theater. It is not a question of imitating previous artistic practice or perhaps of imitating the past in a historical manner; what is in demand is the whole wealth of historical traditions and the ability to make these traditions fruitful in contemporary cultural processes."

The socialist distrust of production avant-gardism is benefiting from a Western tiring of experimental theater without taking into account the fact that GDR stages have been able to share in the avant-gardism of the past 15 years only in a very limited way. The officially purported surfeit with interpretive departures does not accord with the internal unrest. The privileged GDR producers who visit the Federal Republic to stage productions are evidence of this, for they do not by any means operate the same way here and over there. The unorthodox things they like to go in for in Munich, in Duesseldorf or in Frankfurt/Main are not possible in East Berlin. But the question as to whether by now an important part of GDR theater no longer finds its way to the GDR stages is of course left out of public discussions. No utterances are noted by producers who would be the ones to comment on this. Ruth Berghaus, Bernd K. Tragelehn, Thomas Langhoff and even Alexander Lang were not in evidence at the congress of the association.

On the other hand, NEUES DEUTSCHLAND reports a plea by Heiner Mueller for promoting literary talent: "To discover a burgeoning talent, he said, is midwife's work requiring a lot of care and experience. He advocated that playrights should participate more in the discussion of new material for plays and pointed out that the GDR had a huge reservoir of talent worth promoting. Losses also in 'seed' were unavoidable in our struggle for a world without war and exploitation. All forces should be mobilized to keep such losses at a minimum."

The development of newcomers in all fields apparently is the greatest concern. This subject came up at the press conference at the end of the congress of the association. At the same time, strong unconditional opposition was displayed against the suspicion that it was precisely the gifted producers who were creating new problems with their willfullness. A comment on this had been made in the association journal by young producer Freya Klier a few months ago: "Our training was based on a theory which had an unfavorable effect: the personalities of students first were to be reduced to zero and only then to be developed. In the end we turned pale and colorless in the process, and our self-confidence was pretty much gone." In the accounting report about the conference, an attempt was again made to obliterate the difficulties and their causes. The spokesmen occupying the podium at the press conference bore witness only to the GDR theater of the functionaries. Neither the reelected association president, Hans-Peter Minetti, nor Vice President Rolf Rohmer nor Secretary Hans-Rainer John are permitted any doubt that practice agrees with the declaration of intention: "No important topic of social interest must fail to be represented in the spectrum of repertoires. It is necessary to make use of all forms of representation and portrayal suited for this." With such big words, used in the greetings letter to the general secretary of the Central Committee of the party, the association concluded its congress.

8790/12859
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AUSTRIAN JOURNAL ON HUNGARIAN CENSORSHIP, CULTURAL FREEDOM

Censorship Methods

Vienna PROFIL in German 11 Nov 85 pp 50-51

[Article by Otmar Lahodynsky: "Censoring and Deleting--Kadar's Course of Reform Also Leaves a Certain Amount of Elbowroom to Culture--As Long As Its Limits Are Respected"]

[Text] Police who stopped a Budapest taxi last week made a strange discovery: in the car lay 700 copies of a book with a title uncharacteristic of a samizdat work--"Concerning an East European Marxism" by the two antiregime authors Janos Kis and Gyorgy Bence.

Hungary's dissidents were surprised. They had felt secure from police actions for the duration of the CSCE Cultural Forum being held in Budapest until late November. Even before the cultural congress of the 35 signatories to the Helsinki agreement had begun, the Kadar regime had put its most liberal foot forward. There were no searches of residences any longer. Regime critic Jyorgy Krasso no longer was kept under police surveillance, and producer Rezso Forgacs was released early from imprisonment. The latter had had the unfortunate idea of having a few lightly clad ladies mime erotical scenes in accompaniment to a reading from Ezra Pound's "Cantos." He got 7 months in jail because of "public obscenity."

Last month the International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights (chairman: Karl Johannes Schwarzenberg) was allowed to hold a seminar of writers from East and West. Only the participants had to move from the hall of a hotel, which they were suddenly prohibited from using, to private residences. (See interview below)

To what extent Kadar's course of reform also permits a certain amount of elbowroom is something which was analyzed by regime critic Gyorgy Bence in a new report published by the Helsinki Federation.* "Hungary's writers and artists are definitely aware of their privileged position compared with Romania, the CSSR or the Soviet Union," admits Bence, pointing to the danger of being taken over

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*"Censored and Alternative Modes of Cultural Expression in Hungary." Available as of 1 Dec 85 from Internationale Helsinki-Foederation, Rummelhardtgasse 2/18, 1090 Vienna.

by state patrons of the arts. "The majority does not hope for greater freedom but is afraid of losing what it has already attained." According to Bence, only those who are not being furthered by the state and thus have escaped self-censorship want to "drive the state out of art and literature."

"Please let us have culture without any police," wrote the polit-art group "Inconnu" under a Mona Lisa in a police uniform--its sticker issued on the occasion of the official cultural forum. Once, at one of its happenings, the principles of the cultural policy of the communist party were read out. Those in power would not be trifled with. Since then "Inconnu" artists have often been called up for military exercises.

Big theaters still have to have their repertoires approved by the Theater Department of the Ministry of Culture. New plays occasionally are withdrawn while they are still in rehearsal. This happened this year to the dramatization of a novel by Tibor Dery. Only some ensembles, such as that of the Kaposvar Theater or that of Studo K, managed to get fairly touchy plays through the official selection process.

In publishing, the principle of the three "t's" prevails--a balance between promoted (Hungarian: tamogattot) literature, tolerated (turt) literature and banned (tiltott) literature. The share of tolerated literature, according to the Vienna GEGENSTIMMEN opposing voices, is on the increase "because it has turned out to be the most value creating and value preserving." The most recent example of the "tolerated" category is the novel "Vidravas" (steel trap) by Kossuth Prize winner Erzsebet Galgoczi dealing with Hungary's Stalinist past. On the other hand, authors known in the West such as Gyorgy, Konrad, Istvan Eorsi or Miklos Haraszti can only publish in the samizdat. Because of a critical foreword, the "tolerated" author Sandor Csoori had a 1-year publishing ban imposed on him from which only his children's poems were exempted. A novel by Istvan Czurka was simply abridged, with the sensitive portions appearing later as short stories.

At the authors seminar of the Helsinki Federation, Gyorgy Konrad made the delicate proposal that Hungary's cultural supervisors should not be allowed to censor books or journals until after publication--a practice which had already been followed during the Horthy dictatorship. But should authors call only for a little censorship instead of a ban?

As far as Istvan Csurka is concerned, the danger is the stolid "acceptance of reality." Because "there exists no Shakespeare" there, "no Victor Hugo, no Tolstoy and no Sandor Petofi. In the reality which is being put up with, there are only dwarfs."

## Pointed Interview With Cultural Head

Vienna PROFIL in German 11 Nov 85 pp 50-51

[Interview with Hungarian Minister of Culture Bela Kopeczi by Otmar Lahodynsky: "Not Afraid of Orwell"]

[Text] PROFIL: The Hungarian authorities banned the gathering of writers from East and West organized by the International Helsinki Federation for

Human Rights from the Intercontinental Hotel in Budapest but then permitted it to take place in private residences. Was that a typically Hungarian solution or rather a case of helplessness in the state apparatus?

Kopeczi: In Madrid we assumed the task of organizing a political-cultural conference, the CSCE Cultural Forum, in Budapest. It was agreed that representatives of various groups of monitors could come to Budapest as tourists and make contact with the delegates. But of course they must not engage in any political activity which could have an adverse effect on the Cultural Forum. We also told the Americans that for political events it definitely was necessary to obtain the approval of the Hungarian authorities.

PROFIL: Yet the Helsinki Federation has conducted its own events at previous CSNE conferences in Belgrade, Madrid and Ottawa without asking the authorities for permission. Surely contacts between intellectuals from East and West ought to be possible without any official authorization.

Kopeczi: Private contacts of course are definitely possible. All those writers, Enzensberger or Susan Sontag, have been in Hungary before. Why did they want to talk only with oppositionists and emigres this time? This polarization runs counter to the dialogue.

PROFIL: Yet this polarization also existed in the case of the official Hungarian delegation. There oppositionists and well-known authors, such as Gyorgy Konrad or Istvan Csurka, were not represented.

Kopeczi: True, because they do not have any function as regards relations with abroad.

PROFIL: But why should writers without such functions not be allowed to meet?

Kopeczi: When we organize a cultural forum with representatives of 35 governments, of course the purpose is to achieve concrete results. The forum is no literary symposium where writers speak quite freely about any kind of subjects. In this case it is a question of cultural exchange, cooperation as far as textbooks are concerned, films joint activities in the academic sphere, the establishment of an international folklore institute in Budapest.

PROFIL: But what is really so bad about writers from East and West discussing in Budapest topics which concern every author--writers and their identity, censorship and self-censorship, writing in exile. Such symposia take place periodically in West European cities.

Kopeczi: We do not have any political pluralism, any multiparty system, in Hungary. There Hungarian domestic matters, such as our cultural policy were discussed, a manifesto of the Hungarian opposition was recited, and there was talk about political questions of the socialist countries. It was a political event.

PROFIL: ...which was allowed to take place only in private.

Kopeczi: There is a difference there. It was no public political event. If the Hungarian authorities had authorized such a thing, people all over the world would have thought that we had not only tolerated but authorized a counteraction in Hungary.

PROFIL: In Western media there was talk of pressure on the Hungarian authorities from Moscow, Prague and Bucharest.

Kopeczi: As a rule we do not stage such political demonstrations in Hungary. There exist domestic and foreign political interests of course. A small country like Hungary has even more borders than a big one. This realism does not mean that we do not support cultural variety. But we admit that there are limits. The conflicts between us and some Hungarian writers and intellectuals have to do with these limits. Sometimes we are under the impression that they think that Hungary is a superpower which can accomplish anything--as if this country did not depend on other powers and on foreign political and economic connections.

PROFIL: Are these borders being transgressed if writers merely want to limit the influence of the state on culture?

Kopeczi: We do not wich to deny at all that anatgonisms and conflicts exist in Hungary. Our papers report these in a very critical manner--for instance, the growing gap between the poor and the rich. This one can read about not only in samizdat publications. But I believe we can master all these problems. Hungarian society, with the new economy, the new election system and micro-democracy, is an experimenting society. What we need is the principle of hope.

PROFIL: Many Hungarian artists hope for a further relaxation of censorship.

Kopeczi: There is no censorship in Hungary.

PROFIL: Only a comprehensive control via state publishing houses and culture officials.

Kopeczi: Readers in publishing houses also exist in the West. It is not possible there either to publish something without the publisher's consent--except by publishing it oneself, and that possibility exists here too.

PROFIL: But there are political barriers.

Kopecai: Yes; they reside in our political consensus. The alliance policy we have conducted for 30 years has yielded positive results. But we do not believe that all cultural trends have to correspond to the value system of our social order.

PROFIL: Many Hungarian authors are being boycotted by state publishing houses.

Kopeczi: There is an important difference. In the West a writer can write whatever he wants, but he has no political function. In East Europe, literature has always played a political role. Writers always had an extraordinary political influence. After 1954, a dogmatic policy....

PROFIL: ...of the Stalinist era under Rakosi...

Kopeczi: ...aimed at exploiting this role and caused an overpoliticization of literature. After 1956 we embarked on a different cultural policy. We do not think that literature should lead the nation. Many of our oppositionists still believe it should, however. They say that have lost their illusions about socialism, but their only alternative is a bourgeois democracy.

PROFIL: At the CSCE Cultural Forum you mentioned that all important works of world literature were available in translation in Hungary. A number of books, however, such as George Orwell's "1984," appear only in samizdat editions.

Kopeczi: In this case, it is a political question. Orwell's novel "1984" was exploited for political purposes. In my opinion this novel could also be exploited against capitalism. Only because the entire Western propaganda was out to prove that the novel "1984" befits the socialist countries did we fail to publish the book. Not because we are afraid of Orwell.

PROFIL: Lately it has also been possible to buy Western papers and journals at newsstands in Hungary. Is this measure valid only for the duration of the Cultural Forum?

Kopeczi: That of course depends on our foreign-currency situation and on tourism. But it certainly is no short-term matter. If one can receive radio and television from the West, why not also the press?

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'PARASITE' LAW PROVES INEFFECTIVE, SAYS PZPR IDEOLOGICAL WEEKLY

Warsaw ZAGADNIENIE I MATERIALY in Polish No 42, 19 Oct 85 pp 12-14

[Article by Zdzislaw Niewola: "The Effects of the Fight Against Parasitism"]

[Text] As of December 1985, three years will have elapsed since the Sejm passed a statute outlining procedures to be taken against those individuals who avoid employment.

The enforcement of this law from 1 January 1983 to 30 June 1985 resulted in the compilation of a list of more than 129,000 males who neither work nor study. Eventually 56,000 individuals were removed from the list, 47,000 of them because they had either found steady employment or had begun further education. At the end of June 1985 there were still 82,724 individuals registered who were avoiding employment. Altogether 70,583 individuals were assigned work, and 49,815 of them (70 percent) actually began employment.

Public work projects were organized for individuals avoiding employment in 38 provinces. In the first quarter of this year only 16 percent of those people who were assigned to these activities actually worked, and 22 percent participated in the second quarter. The majority, however, refused to take part. When compared to the amount of work put into organizing these activities, the results were generally poor. An exception to this occurred in the Katowice province where public utility companies provided adequate preparation and supervision of the public works projects. Profits of approximately 4.9 million zlotys were earned by individuals taking part.

The experience that has been gained to date from the enforcement of this law shows that it has proved to be ineffective in the fight against social parasitism.

During the period when this law was in force, 47,081 individuals were deleted from the lists because they were employed for more than 6 months. This figure consists primarily of males who have not been corrupted to a great degree. Often they did not begin employment due to circumstances of a temporary nature or outright bad luck. In these cases the interest and help of local authorities was in fact sufficient for them to begin work.

However, the situation involving highly demoralized individuals--those consciously breaking the law or blatantly supporting themselves through criminal dealings--must be judged differently.

Of the 5,498 individuals registered from 1983-1985 on the list of those who persisted in avoiding employment, only 445 names (8.3 percent) were dropped because they had worked for at least one year.

Information from the Ministry of Labor, Wages and Social Affairs shows that more than 10,300 individuals listed as being unemployed and about 1,900 individuals registered on the list of unemployed individuals did not begin employment in the latest period due to reasons which were not socially justified. Some still refused to work even after being punished by a fine or a curtailment of personal liberties.

With the exception of some public utilities, the majority of businesses expressed negative opinions concerning the work of those men sent to them under the terms of this law: These individuals do not fulfill their work duties properly, and their work is not very productive. They are difficult to work with, undisciplined, and often drink to excess. The opinion that these individuals have a demoralizing effect on their fellow workers and lower the social standing of their job is widely held.

Representatives of governmental agenices most frequently mention the following difficulties which seriously limit the effectiveness of actions designed to enforce the regulations:

--The situation in which most actions taken against individuals avoiding employment are of a simple administrative nature is caused by the lack of staff in employment and social affairs offices (insufficient number of positions, increasing proportion of female employees, other duties of a different nature being assigned to these departments in addition to duties involving employment, high staff turnover, and employee inexperience).

--Local governmental agencies working with other interested institutions involved in enforcing the regulation (the militia, workplaces, revenue offices, etc.) in limited cooperation with inefficient results especially where the quick flow of information about individuals covered under the law is concerned;

--The substandard performance of registration offices in ascertaining the addresses of those individuals summoned by administrative organs.

--The failure to report or the delayed reporting by workplaces of hirings, firings or resignations by individuals sent to those places of work under the terms of this law.

During the course of debates that were held, especially in blue-collor worker circles, in the wake of the 16th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee the view was expressed that the law on proceedings against work shirkers,

contrary to public expectations and in spite of some positive results in terms of putting people who are neither working nor in school into jobs, has not put a stop to the problem of social parasitism or even set up an effective and cohesive system for controlling it.

The social parasitism continues to be an annoyance to society, and its considerable dimensions are becoming a grave threat to the public order. In 1984, 21.6 percent of all individuals suspected of criminal activity were individuals who neither were employed nor studying. Their participation in such serious crimes as robbery, breaking into public and private property, and theft of private possessions is still considerable and accounts for between 22 percent and 44 percent of these crimes. During the first half of 1985, individuals not working comprised 24 percent of those convicted of crimes.

By passing the statute outlining procedures to be taken against individuals avoiding employment the Sejm (8th session) took the first step toward creating a system of effective action against social parasitism. The newly elected Sejm (9th session) should take into account the experience that has been gained to date from the enforcement of this law and should take further forceful steps toward creating the legal basis for a more effective solution of this problem.

It is generally felt that certain changes in the statute's provisions would increase the effectiveness of the campaign against parasitism. First of all, it is proposed that penalties be greatly increased. The penalty for refusing to participate in a public work project and other penalties are considered too lenient. It is believed that the penalties should take into consideration the character of persons avoiding employment and with criminal records. It would be more desirable for society that the individual face the threat of total deprivation of personal liberties along with the possibility of the court assigning work instead of being penalized through curtailing of personal liberties.

Experience has also shown that there are certain loopholes in the provisions of this law that are diligently exploited by those who stubbornly refuse to work. According to the law, the unemployed are required to report to the local administrative authorities after 3 months of unemployment. This obligation is ignored by some. Other accept employment for a couple of days, only to resign after obtaining a certificate stating they are employed. By so doing they avoid the proscribed penalties of the statute, and the administrative authorities are frequently at a loss for what to do.

During the course of this ongoing debate especially blue-collor worker circles, changes in the statute have been demanded. Among other things it has been demanded that governmental agencies have the power to officially summon individuals, who are neither employed nor at school instead of waiting for them to report. Another demand is that a shorter period of time be established (e.g. one month) with the understanding that if unemployment extends longer than this the individual will be considered as avoiding employment. It was also proposed that the age limit for males

affected by the statute be raised from 45 to 55 years of age and that the statute should also apply to unmarried females of productive age with no legal sources of income. It was also felt that the complicated and drawn out process of registering social parasites must be simplified and that the roles governing the summoning individuals avoiding employment and the actual service of such summons should be grounded criminal law.

At present the Ministry of Justice is working on legislation concerning proceedings to be instituted against individuals who refuse to work. It is important that any amendments to existing law in this area should provide for truly effective legal means that will prevent and combat the social curse of parasitism. As experience gained from enforcing existing laws has shown, that in order to solve the problem of social parasitism, local governmental authorities are required to undertake energetic and strenuous activities in various areas in order to implement the legal solutions to this problem. The main burden of enforcing the law rests upon the local employment offices which need to be strengthened by increasing the number of positions as well as improving employee qualifications.

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PARTY'S VIEWS ON NECESSITY OF SOCIALISM

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 18, 25 Sep 85 pp 16-19

/Article by Univ Prof Dr Vasile Nichita for the first year of the University of Politics and Management: "The RCP's Revolutionary Conception of the World and Life. Party General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu's Contribution to Creative Development of the Theory and Practice of Socialist Revolution and Construction"/

/Text/ The analysis of contemporary developments the RCP regularly makes indicates that in our times mankind is passing through an era of radical social and national revolutionary changes. The most important historical process, which is of worldwide significance and which in fact determines the direction and the main innovating, revolutionary content of these changes, is unquestionably the peoples' inevitable, irreversible progress on the path of socialism and communism, the only society that can put a stop to the discords of inequality and the economic, political, social and national gaps and inequities generated and perpetuated in the most varied forms by the systems based on exploitation and oppression. Nicolae Ceausescu says, "Socialism is the only alternative to the society divided into exploiting and exploited classes and the only way to socio-economic progress and a better and more just civilization on our planet."

Objective Necessity and Historical Legitimacy of Socialist Construction

The start of more and more peoples on the path of building the new order, the path of revolutionary reform of political, social and production relations and fulfillment of the socialist principles distribution and of coexistence among peoples and nations is an inevitable result of human society's development, its rise to new heights of progress and civilization, and the increasingly powerful expression of the peoples' will to self-determination in complete freedom and independence. The aspiration to a better and more just world of free endeavor, free of exploitation, oppression and the nightmare of the policy of domination and enslavement of peoples and war, has long been fostering the hopes of the masses everywhere and is still fostering them more and more today.

Upon a penetrating examination of the dialectics of the course of history, and especially the evolutionary laws, contradictions and limitations of capitalist society as well as the mechanism of its reproduction, K. Marx and F. Engels drew

the conclusion that socialism is the only alternative to the serious dysfunctions and contradictions of capitalism and predicted a number of the future society's characteristics that indicated ways an means of achieving the masses' ideals of freedom, justice and humanism. The founders of scientific socialism determined the historical mission of the working class, the masses and the peoples and the role of revolutionary action organized to duldill the communist ideal, and they saw in the political party of the working class the decisive factor for convincing the masses and extensively involving them in the struggle for socialism. They warned against the dangers of abstract patterns and ready-made formulas in solving the far-reaching problems of socialist construction, and they pointed out that the revolutionary theory can be effective only when it is creatively applied in accordance with each nation's different historical conditions.

The theory of scientific socialism also emphasized the processual and comprehensive nature of the assertion of the principles and values of the new order and its historical superiority. F. Engels accordingly viewed socialist society as a living, dynamic organism, "as something subject to constant change and to progress." In this processual approach, socialism is only the first, initial stage of communism, and V. I. Lenin, in speaking of the questions of progress toward the higher stage of the new order aiming at the principle "From each according to his ability and to each according to his needs," wrote in "The State and Revolution," "I do not and cannot know by what stages and practical measures mankind will advance toward this higher purpose. But it is important for us to realize the complete falsity of the common bourgeois notion that socialism is something dead, petrified and laid down once and for all, whereas actually it is only with socialism that any rapid, true progress of a real mass character, with participation of the majority of the population and later with that of the entire population, will begin in all walks of social and individual life."

The ideals of socialism and communism and of social and national equity and justice are most emphatically displaying their powers of attraction and persuasion during the radical changes of the present period, when transition to the socialist system is becoming more and more definitely a characteristic feature and an irreversible trend of the world in which we are living and the struggle of the masses and the peoples against injustices and social and production relations outmoded by history and on behalf of new international relations and national sovereignty and independence is being accentuated in many countries.

The peoples are taking the path of socialism today under a wide diversity of economic, political, social, historical and national conditions inevitably leading to a variety of practical revolutionary ways and means and to multiplication and diversification of the political and social forces engaged in accomplishing this great undertaking and in stimulating the creative spirit of the revolutionary theory in an unprecedented way. Experience tells us that progress on the path of socialism and communism demands of every country's revolutionary forces, every people and every party of the working class an intensive, comprehensive and bold effort, a selfless and dedicated spirit, and resolution of many difficulties and new problems inherent in such a vast and unprecedented undertaking.

Very far-reaching problems are presented by construction of the new order when, as it often happens in the present period and is also true of Romania, the transition to socialism has been made or is being made in underdeveloped or medium developed capitalist countries, some of which have mostly agrarian and

industrially underdeveloped economies and sometimes no previous knowledge of any advanced political and democratic existence. The peoples and revolutionary forces of such countries face many complicated problems, chief among which is certainly industrialization, without which the technical-material base essential to the rapid all-around progress of the new order is impossible. That requirement very urgently presents the problem of developing the productive forces and forming modern economic structures that can make better use of the material and manpower resources, enhance labor productivity, and advance education, science and culture.

These circumstances bring out even more clearly the historic achievements of socialism, which has solved many problems in a short time that the previous systems could not touch, such as abolition of exploitation of man by man, national oppression, and the great social inequalities and injustices. Socialism is emerging in our era as a dynamic and powerful economic, political, social, scientific and cultural reality, with outstanding achievements in development of the productive forces, education and culture, a new form of social, political and democratic organization, and new experience, personnel and institutions. It is accompanied by an unprecedented expansion and maturing of the social and political forces engaged in revolutionary social reform.

Characteristics of Socialist Society

Socialist society is a distinct and qualitatively new stage in man's evolution that is formed and developed as a whole economic, social and political reality, with characteristic structures and relations essentially different from those of previous orders and as a dynamic system with developmental functions, motive forces and laws of its own.

Socialist construction has a number of common characteristics, laws and principles, but it is going on under a wide diversity of particular conditions. It involves various economic and social structures, different levels and rates of development of production and promotion of the scientific-technical revolution, various stages of maturity of social and production relations, its own ways and means of social organization and management, and distictive elements in democratic development and mass experience in participation. The diversity of economic, social, political and national conditions as well as the different stages of socioeconomic development in which certain countries are or have to go through naturally make differences in the practical ways and means of socialist construction, in the forms and methods of organizing and managing their economies and societies as a whole, in the nature and functions of their various political institutions, etc. The RCP does not think such differences can be used to question socialism in any given country or to contrast the socialism in one country with that in other countries or with that to be accomplished in the future. No one knows the economic and social facts of a country and its internal and international political situations better than the respective people's Communist Party and their revolutionary and political forces. Therefore they alone are responsible for developing their revolutionary strategy and tactics for building the new order.

Because of the great variety of circumstances under which it goes on, socialist construction cannot be forced into any rigid patterns or molds, and no single,

universally valid models providing ready-made answers to the many problems arising in each individual case are possible or viable. On the contrary, as a dynamic, radically innovating and revolutionary undertaking of our time socialist construction and development necessarily require the presence and creative and responsible action of the masses, and they offer a broad field and unlimited possibilities for rallying the entire people to purposeful construction of their own future.

Guided by the fundamental principles of scientific socialism and by the conclusions drawn from careful and exhaustive analysis of the developments and processes of the contemporary world, the RCP views socialist society as a socioeconomic reality characterized in general by the workers' political power, socialist production relations, elimination of the exploiting classes and social antagonism, and promotion of the socialist principles of distribution. On this subject the RCP Program points out that "The nature of the political power and production relations, transfer of the state power into the hands of the workers, establishment of a socialist ownership of the main production means, abolition of exploitation of man by man, and application of the socialist principles of distribution are and always will be essential to socialism."

In this view, a country can be called socialist if there are revolutionary reforms in its social structure, in the nature of its political power, and in its production relations and if its econory and society as a whole are organized on socialist principles.

Accordingly economic relations based on socialist ownership of the produ tion means, promotion of the socialist principles of distribution, and abolition of any forms of exploitation of man by man are fundamental and distinctive characteristics of socialist society.

Socialist ownership of the production means is particularly important in describing the new order because it ultimately determines the nature, trends and forms of development of all the relationships that are established in production, distribution, exchanges and consumption.

The RCP proceeds here from the main conclusions that (a) The entire development of human society shows that every social system has and has had its own forms of ownership of the main production means, (b) At all stages of historical development, the nature of the economic production relations is determined by the nature of ownership of the production means, (c) Socialism and communism can succeed only on the basis of the workers' common social ownership of the production means, and (d) For the new order, common state or cooperative ownership of the production means socialism produces is one of the fundamental and controlling objective laws as compared with other objective economic laws.

The new form of ownership is the foundation of material and cultural social progress and the workers' democratic rights and freedoms as well as improvement of the entire people's standard of living and civilization. It makes it necessary and possible for all members of society to participate both in socially useful work according to their individual training and aptitudes and society's needs and requirements, and in the units' entire administrative activity as well as political affairs in general.

Distribution of the national income and social product on socialist principles of social justice and equity and according to each one's work plays a vital part in the system of socialist production relations. The new criterion for distribution, according to the quantity and quality of the work performed, reflects the equality of all members of society in regard to the production means. The principle "From each according to his ability and to each according to his work," characteristic of the first stage of the new order, is an important means of motivating the members of society to develop and improve production, to manage the resources and all social wealth most carefully, to make rapid and harmonious social progress, to improve their occupational training and competence, and to make use of the creative powers of the members of society.

Knowledge and application of the general economic laws are intended to further improve the socialist production method, to stimulate the productive forces and the social and production relations, and to do away with arbitrary and random action in socioeconomic development. The purposeful and planned character of socioeconomic development and the ability to organize and manage all social activities and to combine and concentrate the resources and efforts on the main objectives that will fulfill the ideals of the new order secure the superiority of socialist society over all previous systems.

The new order is making radical changes in the class structure of society, in the nature of the social classes and groups, and in the relations among them. The exploiting classes are disappearing along with the antagonisms bred by the conflict of class interests. Socialist production relations are giving the workers the status of the socialist kind of owners, who are producers and beneficiaries of the results of their labor. The working class, the peasantry and the intelligentsia are basing their existence upon collaboration and mutual aid, have vital interests in common, and are participating in social management together. Socialist social unity, a major motive force of the new order, is constantly forming and developing on the basis of common aims and interests, revolutionary alliance, joint participation in social management, and higher standards of culture and socialist awareness.

The socialist political system reflects and establishes the leadership of the working class in society, its alliance and close collaboration with the cooperative peasantry, the intelligentsia and the other categories of workers, and the social-political unity of all workers regardless of nationality. The RCP is the vital center of all Romanian society and the political force spurring the people's creative energies on the path of socialism and communism.

For the first time in history the state is becoming the supreme representative of the socialist kind of owners and producers. As the representative of the workers' supreme power and organizer of the entire people's joint wealth, the workers' revolutionary democratic state plays the telling role in uniform planning, organization and management of all socioeconomic activity according to the Unified National Plan. Intensive development of the productive forces, unprecedented expansion of socioeconomic activities, and the enormous tasks of enhancing the roles of science, education and culture objectively require further enhancement of the state's role in uniform, balanced and proportional development of society and in its all-around progress toward communism. In that spirit the 12th Party Congress outlined the main directions of development of the state's role

and pointed out the necessity of further efforts to combine the socialist state's activity harmoniously with that of the democratic bodies on the principles of democratic centralism, self-management and self-administration, providing for all workers' increasingly active participation in devising and implementing the program for national socioeconomic development.

The new order opens up a wide field for strengthening the socialist nation and developing the independent national states. Since the nation will continue to play a major role in social progress and in collaboration with other nations for a long time and especially under communism, the RCP is making every effort to develop the nation's new qualities and to even and strengthen its unity as a vital factor for the victory of socialism and communism in Romania. Meanwhile, in view of the presence of national minorities in Romania due to its historical development, Romanian society consistently applies the party's Marxist-Leninist policy to the minorities problem, guaranteeing fully equal rights and participation in social management to all citizens regardless of nationality.

The vitality of socialist society's development depends upon extensive development of education, science and culture, upon promotion of a new set of values, chief among which are the individual, revolutionary humanism and the principles of socialist ethics and justice, and upon a new quality of work and life. Socialist culture, characterized by an intensive process of ideological and axiological renovation and leveling, is establishing a new social self-awareness, namely socialist awareness, and it is playing a leading part in forming the new man and accelerating all-around social progress.

The RCP and its general secretary realize that socialism is only an initial stage of communism and that development of the new order is expected to prepare the way completely and in depth for the advance to communism. The whole strategy for building the fully developed socialist society in Romania, as an objectively necessary step toward asserting the superiority of the socialist system and in preparing for the transition to communism, illustrates the RCP's very profound approach to the dialectics of socialist and communist society.

Of course there is no dividing wall nor any antagonistic contradictions between the lower and the higher stage of communism. As the RCP Program points out, "There is a close dialectical unity between these two stages of communism." Some principles of the higher stage are already being applied in the first stage of the new order. The characteristics of the two stages of the communist system are ever more closely involved in the transition from socialism to communism.

The RCP regards anticipating the communist future as an essential feature of purposeful management of socialist society and an integral part of the revolutionary spirit. As Nicolae Ceausescu points out, "We must always think not only of the present but also of the future of the Romanian people and nation. Let us not for a moment forget that we have the great responsibility of securing a bright, free and independent future for the Romanian people and nation in the fully developed socialist society and communism."

The vital importance of the program documents of the RCP and of Nicolae Ceausescu's extensive theoretical works lies in the very fact that on the basis of the living spirit of Marxist thought and the facts of the nation and the present era,

they provide a comprehensive projection, which is now being fully implemented and enriched, of Romania's advance toward communism and of the main characteristics and processes peculiar to communist society.

Unity of the Social and National in the Socialist Revolutionary Process

From the earliest times all the social units known in man's development have succeeded each other on the territory of present-day Romania. Although some social units developed late because of particular historical circumstances, especially prolonged foreign domination, the advanced forces of the people always maintained the revolutionary process of continuous progress, formation of the nation and the people, and national socioeconomic development. As Nicolae Ceausescu points out, "A scientific analysis based on the historical and dialectical-materialist revolutionary conception of the formation and development of the Romanian people and nation demonstrates by force of the indisputable historical facts and events that all the changes conformed to an extensive revolutionary process of heroic struggles for their own existence, for the formation and development of the nation, and for freedom, independence and socioeconomic progress."

Since the socialist nations are an unquestionable reality and the whole task of building the new order is being accomplished within the objective framework of sovereign independent states, it is vitally important to preparation and promotion of a correct revolutionary policy to understand the relationships between the national and international objectives. Under the new conditions the national interests are those of a nation led by the working class and the Communist Party. They are components of the general interests of socialism, which are inseparable from every socialist country's vital national interests and can never be viewed apart from them. The dialectical unity of the universal and particular and the national and international is achieved through the policy of the Communist Party, the leading force of socialist construction. Solidarity and collaboration must be on the principles of full equality and respect for every party's right to devise its political policy in accordance with its national situation.

As experience tells us, the particular way in which the nature and distinctive characteristics of the new order are expressed and exploited historically is a complex and lengthy process, and its requirements, common laws and rules are closely associated with the specific facts, with the various stages of socioeconomic development from which the socialist countries started, with the particulars of building and consolidating the new socialist relations and structures, with the qualities of the subjective factor and its ability to plan, organize and manage this whole constructive undertaking. The general and particular and the objective and subjective are in an inseparable dialectical unity within this process. As the concentrated, succinct expression of historical development, the general laws must always refer to the specific facts, since the general exists only through the particular, it is the product and the expression of certain historical conditions, and it is valid only for and within those conditions. And finally, experience and the specific facts are the ones that test, correct and embody the expression of the general while verifying, modifying or refuting any of the general laws.

Any disregard of the general laws or principles of socialism as well as any disregard of the specific facts and application of models, stereotypes or patterns

not based on the facts can cause socialist construction difficulties and serious harm, jeopardizing the country's socialist development itself. The progress of the revolutionary forces inevitably depends on whether they understand the requirements of the objective laws, act in accordance with the social and national historical facts, consider the people's interests, proceed together with the working class, unite, and secure the masses' firm support.

The RCP's analyses of its own experience and that acquired on the international level indicate the dangers of the idyllic, triumphalist representation of the new order's development, the false impression that socialism can know no difficulties and that the establishment of the political power of the working class and the start of building the new society automatically lead to solution of the far-reaching problems presented by experience and to automatic application of the socialist principles. In accordance with the conclusions drawn from these analyses, the RCP regularly examines the application of the policies set both for society as a whole and for its various sectors and makes a determined effort to improve social organization and management, workers revolutionary democracy, self-management and self-administration, and the entire system of social relations.

In its extensive actions to enter the country upon new paths of progress and civilization the party has always realized that its own efforts are essential to this, on behalf of the most rational use of resources and unification of all the social forces, while promoting extensive international collaboration based upon equity and mutual benefit.

Dialectical unity of the general and particular, the national and international, and the internal and external calls for the creative, specific-historical approach to all problems in connection with construction of the new order, as each revolutionary party accordingly helps to enrich revolutionary theory and practice with its own measures and experience.

Historical Significance of the Ninth RCP Congress

As a regular stage of the revolutionary process of the Romanian people's economic and social progress, the Ninth RCP Congress inaugurated a new era in their history when it elected Nicolae Ceausescu to the highest office of party general secretary by the unanimous will of the communists and the entire people. With his encouragement and telling contribution, the Ninth RCP Congress as well as the later congresses and national conferences played a vital part in developing and activating all socialist construction in Romania, in devising a scientific, harmonious and revolutionary conception of the main courses of action toward the nation's general political, socioeconomic and cultural development, and in promoting the new creative spirit in the theory and practice of socialist construction.

The glorious course of historic achievements pursued since the Ninth RCP Congress was unquestionably influenced by the powerful personality of Nicolae Ceausescu, a tireless promoter not only of a bold and original form of revolutionary thought, initiative and action but also of the innovating conception of the content and directions of Romania's all-around socialist development.

The historic achievements of the "Nicolae Ceausescu Era" have been fully confirming the realism and viability of the Ninth RCP Congress' policies based upon

comprehensive, in-depth scientific investigation of the particular Romanian situation, upon bold and careful forecasting of the future, and upon creative application of the general principles of scientific socialism to the particular conditions in Romania and the present period.

The firm policy for national industrialization advanced by this historic party congress with Nicolae Ceausescu's telling contribution as well as the option for a high rate of accumulation provided for the formation of a strong, balanced and dynamic industry able to make better use of the nation's resources and the entire people's creative energies and able to make a decisive contribution to correction of the backwardness that once existed in Romanian society's development and to the transition to the fully developed socialist society.

The Ninth RCP Congress based its long-range goals on the need of eliminating all that was old and outmoded, dogmatism and routine, the various antiscientific ideas, and distrust of the creative power of the working class, peasantry, intelligentsia and the Romanian people, and it cleared the way for continued development of the revolutionary spirit and for promotion of the new in all activities. As a result Romania has become an industrial-agrarian country today with a developed modern industry and an advanced socialist agriculture. In the period following the Ninth RCP Congress the industrial output increased by more than 6 times and is now 100 times greater than in 1944, while the agricultural output increased by about $2\frac{1}{2}$ times and is now 7 times greater than in 1944. In the same period the national income increased by more than 4 times and is now 32 times greater than in 1944.

Science, education and culture were intensively developed in this period too. An important part was played by the territorial-administrative reorganization, formation of the counties, harmonious allocation of the productive forces throughout the whole country, and socioeconomic development of all localities.

The Romanian people's great victories under party leadership since the Ninth RCP Congress are a lasting foundation for a successful transition to the goals and tasks set by the 13th RCP Congress to firmly carry on with the policy of building the fully developed socialist society and the advance toward communism, for further development of the productive forces and improvement of social and production relations on a new basis, and for more and more intensive promotion of the revolutionary reform of Romanian society, securing its rise to new heights of civilization and progress.

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RCP VIEWS ON LEADING ROLE OF PARTY

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 18, 25 Sep 85 pp 20-23

/Article by Pamfil Nichitelea and Constantin Nica for the first year of the University of Politics and Management: "The RCP's Revolutionary Conception of the World and Life. Party General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu's Contribution to Creative Development of the Theory and Practice of Socialist Revolution and Construction"/

/Text/ The RCP documents and Nicolae Ceausescu's rich theoretical works emphasize questions of party leadership. The party general secretary's ideological, theoretical and practical procedures after the Ninth Party Congress served to free the conception of the party from narrow and dogmatic views and lent the party's work a new scientific and revolutionary perspective. The ideas, theories and opinions developed in this historical period concerning the place and role of the revolutionary party of the working class in socialist construction placed the party's and state's domestic and foreign policies on a principled and realistic basis, helped to expand the communists' and workers' political and ideological outlook, and enhanced the RCP's contribution to enrichment of the revolutionary movement's ideological treasury and to the more effective advancement of the theory of scientific socialism in the world.

The Working Class Party and Leader of Society in the Ceausescu Era

The party's position in Romanian society and the development of its role are inherently bound up with the interests of the working class and its historical mission as a class bearing social progress and expected to lead the entire people to radical revolutionary reforms and socialist and communist construction. Historical experience shows that there is a complete dialectical unity between the advance of the working class' role as a leading social force and the party's leading political role. The historical legitimacy of the RCP's role accordingly lies in the fact that it has carried on the people's age-old struggle for social and national liberation as well as the best traditions of the socialist and workers movement in Romania and has proved to be the most faithful representative of the vital interests of the working class and the entire people.

The Communist Party has played an increasingly important part in all of Romania's social-political activities from its very beginning, and it has emphatically

asserted itself at crucial points in the nation's history as a national political force by assuming its historical role of organizer and leader of the struggle for fulfillment of the workers' vital aims and for national freedom and independence and social progress.

Although outlawed and subjected to a savage reign of terror, the RCP very emphatically asserted its ideological-political superiority and identified itself with the nation's higher interests. Under the Communist Party's leadership the heroic Romanian working class demonstrated its inexhaustible revolutionary energies, its spirit of self-sacrifice and its ability to take the lead in the entire people's struggle against exploitation and oppression in defense of their national existence. The RCP's strong ties to the working class proved to be the lasting basis for the unity of all the nation's advanced, democratic, patriotic and progressive forces in the battle for justice, freedom and complete national independence. Under the very hard conditions of Nazi rule the Communist Party was the organizer and leader of the national antifascist resistance, led the effort to extricate Romania from the unjust war into which the ruling circles had thrown it, and accomplished the Antifascist and Anti-Imperialist Revolution for Social and National Liberation, an act of vital importance in Romanian history. The historic events of August 1944 proved the RCP's ability to apply the revolutionary theory of the role of the working class and the need of its united action creatively to the particular Romanian conditions and to unite all of Romania's progressive forces and the broadest social categories in defense of the people's vital interests.

In the process of continuing and extending the revolution the acquisition of the entire political power by the working class in alliance with the peasantry and the other categories of workers was a critically important point in the emergence and confirmation of the RCP as a revolutionary political force that had assumed its mission of the highest responsibility, confirmed by the nation's sovereign will, of organizing and directing socialist and communist construction in Romania. Accordingly the RCP's confirmation as a leading political force in society is the outcome not of any subjective wishes but of a regular objective process of historical development. As Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out, "The RCP gained unanimous recognition of its leadership in Romanian society by the dedicated and selfless fidelity with which it served the highest interests of the working class, the workers and the entire people ever since it was founded."

The party's role as a leading political force in Romanian society was confirmed more and more definitely as socialist construction was developed and extended. As it led this great undertaking, the party proved to be the force able to provide and apply realistic and clear scientific measures for Romania's socioeconomic development on the course of progress characteristic of the socialist system, in close unity with the people from whom it sprang and is constantly renewed. The party's social leadership is accordingly the basis of the Romanian people's great achievements in the years of socialist construction and especially in the period since the Ninth Party Congress. The party's leadership secured intensive development of the productive forces, formation of a modern industry, cooperativization of agriculture and development of its technical-material base, unification of the socialist economy, growth of the national income, and further improvement of the entire people's welfare. The definitive victory of the new social relations established the most just and the most advanced society, namely socialist society, on Romanian soil.

The Ninth Party Congress was a vitally important point in the development of the RCP and of all socialist Romanian society and in the rise of the party's leadership in national affairs to a new peak. It inauguarated the most productive period in the whole era of socialist construction in Romania, a period called the "Ceausescu Era" with warranted patriotic pride.

Under the influence of the party general secretary's creative and dynamic revolutionary conception the Ninth RCP Congress placed a basic emphasis on an extensive and productive scientific preparation of measures essential to progress, accelerated development of the productive forces through industrial and agricultural modernization, extended socialist democracy, and effective and increasingly widespread mass participation in all social activities. Upon review of the 20 years following the historic 1965 Congress the conclusion is clear that over those years the preparations for the new order's further progress were always based on the party's careful analysis of the course of social development resulting from study of experience, social-political affairs, and the new realities.

This is graphically reflected in the party programs in the last 20 years and the general policy set by the 13th Congress, which were based on a sustained effort to examine the requirements of the objective laws and to determine and evaluate the needs of each stage of the nation's development correctly. Accordingly the radically innovating course characteristic of Romanian society in the last two decades is based upon the party's realistic and creative policy and its ability to devise the best solutions to the economic and social problems in the light of the objective laws.

The Party's View of Its Role As Vital Center of the Nation

As a purposefully constructed system, socialism is undergoing a fundamental change in the proportion between the random and the purposeful in the considerable gain in the role of the subjective factor, which is expected to provide thorough knowledge and scientific evaluation of the facts and requirements of social progress and to form the general political policy in keeping with the masses' aspirations and the conditions of each developmental stage. In this connection Romanian social-political experience shows that the development of the Communist Party as a fundamental, purposeful subjective factor and as a political force for efficient social management has been and is continually improved in its theoretical conception and in its practical ways and means.

In consideration of these requirements and the radical revolutionary social reforms and by applying the general truths of scientific socialism to the facts of Romanian society, Nicolae Ceausescu developed an original scientific conception whereby the party asserts itself more and more positively as the vital center of the entire nation, disseminating the bold thinking that will secure revolutionary social reform and the power that inspires the creative energies of the masses and the entire people. This dynamic conception of the party and its role in the present developmental stage of the Romanian social-political system is objectively determined by evaluation of the qualitative changes made in Romanian society. It is essentially a matter of development of the productive forces on new levels and improvement of social and production relations, of increasingly pronounced social leveling as the social leadership of the working class and socialist democracy develop, of general improvement of the masses' awareness, and of further

consolidation of the people's unity around the party. Accordingly, by asserting itself as the faithful and authorized representative of Romanian socialist society's aspirations, by exercising political leadership jointly with the working class, the peasantry, the intelligentsia and all workers regardless of nationality, and including over 3.5 million members in its ranks, the RCP is proving to be a true mass party completely integrated in society. As Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out, "In the present stage of Romanian socialist society's development, when socialist democracy is being developed and the democratic structure for mass participation in management of all sectors is being improved, it is the RCP's high mission to serve as the organizing and driving political force for all socioeconomic activity. It is and will continue to be the vital center of operations of Romanian socialist society."

Essentially, the principle of the party's role as the vital center of society requires exercise of its functions of leadership from within society and its institutions, where it can better stimulate the masses' energies and initiative and broaden socialist democracy. The RCP Program says, "The party's leadership must be exercised not from without but within the social, economic and state bodies. That is the natural and regular process of further development of the party's leadership, of consolidation of the entire people's unity around it, of improvement of the masses' general awareness, and of the people's increasingly active participation in social management."

In this view the party exercises its leadership primarily through scientific determination of the directions of national development and the general political policy that guides and directs all activities, through a sustained and comprehensive organizational and educational effort, and through the advanced example it sets every communist in his work and in all social-political activity.

There is an inherent correlation between preparing the general policy and program for national socioeconomic development and implementing them, and it is based on the principle that in the new order the party's political management function reflects its complete unity with the people. Experience acquired since the Ninth Party Congress tells us that party activity is inseparable from the masses and the people as a whole because the party activists and all communists in the socioeconomic units and party, mass and public organizations participate directly in the extensive process of preparing and implementing party policy and any tasks.

In the stage of building the fully developed socialist society and Romania's advance toward communism, the party's ties with the masses of workers are being expanded and diversified, becoming increasingly profound and acquiring new characteristics against the background of development of socialist democracy and increasingly pronounced promotion of workers self-management. The formation of a new and democratic organizational structure, unique of its kind, on the intiative and under the leadership of the party and its general secretary provides a regular and productive dialogue between the party and the people as well as new forms of collaboration and cooperation for the nation's steady progress on the path of socialism and communism. In this broad democratic system party leadership prevents confusion or substitution of party and state institutions, maintains and develops their particular functions, enhances the roles of the state and the workers-revolutionary democratic bodies and extends their harmonious cooperation.

As the vital center of socialist society, the party serves as a powerful active force, organizing and stimulating all socioeconomic and political activity. In that way the party provides effective political leadership in all social activities from material production to ideological-educational work and from improvement of social relations to scientific, artistic and cultural activity in all units and workers collectives, constantly improving its performance of its political functions. Social experience confirms the impossibility of limiting the party's role to any given fields (ideological or cultural-educational) and leaving the other sectors (economic, political, technical-scientific) to chance.

The particular nature of the party's leadership, the growth of its role and the need of solving the practical problems promptly and with the greatest social benefit require more emphasis on strengthening the party, raising its ideological and political level, and enhancing its organizing power and unity. Although the party is going to perform its historical role for a long time to come, its functions, organizational forms and activity will certainly change with the historical stages in the future socialist and communist society's development. As Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out, the party like any social body must keep improving with the great revolutionary social changes if it is to perform its highly responsible mission in socialist society.

Nicolae Ceausescu's theory of the party's increasingly close integration in society is particularly important in this respect. It is a requirement based on the particular facts of the present stage of Romanian society's development because it enables the party to include all social activities more fully in its leadership.

The vital policy of improved organization and management of party activity and improvement of its working methods and approach is an intrinsic component of the conception of the party's complete integration in society. As the RCP general secretary said, the party's internal democracy must be further developed as a part of socialist workers democracy and the role of collective work must be enhanced and closely combined with a corresponding increase in the responsibility of every communist and all communists for performance of the assigned tasks. To that end it is of essential importance to increase the sense of responsibility for knowledge of the facts and good organization of the work, the role of the party activists, and the communists' participation in development and solution of the problems.

Ultimately, the party's leadership is reflected in the way every communist and every activist does his work. As Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out, "When we speak of party leadership we do not mean any abstract idea or slogan but the practical daily work whereby every communist and every activist as well as every party organization and committee up to the Central Committee combines the workers' efforts and acts in close touch with the masses, remaining always in their midst, working and living together with them, and sharing in their daily lives, cultural-educational activities and entertainment."

Full integration in society, increasingly close involvement of party activity with the entire people's work, and the communists' participation in all social activity in constant contact with the masses of workers and the people are sure ways for the party to keep enhancing its leadership and to develop as the vtal center of the Romanian socialist nation.

The 13th RCP Congress on Development of the Party's Leadership

The programs approved by the 13th RCP Congress anticipate Romania's entry upon a new and higher stage of the revolution in the next five-year plan, a new stage of social and economic development. As Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out in his Report to the Congress, in the years to come we shall take new, untrodden and unknown paths, so that the activity of the party, of all its organizations and of every communist must be imbued with the revolutionary spirit, with selfless dedication in the service of the nation's highest interests, and with determination to promote all that is new and advanced in social thought and practice.

The principles of vital theoretical and practical importance concerning development of the party's leadership in the present stage of Romanian socialist society's development that are exhaustively set forth in the documents of the 13th RCP Congress require the party and its organs and organizations to be constantly guided by the revolutionary conception and to always act in the revolutionary spirit in order to promote the new and do away with all that is old and obsolete.

The great goals approved by the 13th Party Congress call for ever closer involvement of party activity with the work of the entire people and the communists' participation in all social activity in constant contact with the working masses and the entire people,*always making certain that the entire party policy will be the true expression of the will and interests of the working class and the people. The party general secretary said, "In the spirit of the documents we have approved and of the decisions of the 13th Party Congress, we shall have to make every effort to strengthen the RCP in all respects and to further expand the party's ties with the masses and the people, for it is solely in this close, inseparable unity of the party and the people that Romania's steady progress toward socialism and communism is guaranteed!" The documents approved by the 13th RCP Congress accordingly require the party organs and organizations to take very firm and determined measures henceforth to improve their working methods and approach and to further the party organizations' capacity for uniting and mobilizing all the workers' efforts to carry out the party's decisions.

As we know, in view of the results obtained, the Romanian economy's real potentials for progress, and the requirements of the present stage of national development, the 13th RCP Congress' decisions even more strongly emphasize the need of intensive development of the economy to meet the demands of the new stage of the technical-scientific revolution by modernizing the means of labor and the production structure and raising the technical and qualitative standards of the products. Particular importance is also attached to the aims of accomplishing the new agrarian revolution, which require a general change in the peasants' way of working, living and thinking and an agricultural output that can fully meet the entire people's consumer needs. The decisions of the 13th RCP Congress call for very firm continuation of the policy of developing the productive forces as a factor critical to general social progress, through proper distribution of the national income between the consumption fund and the development fund so as to secure socialist accumulation and expanded reproduction. Socialist ownership will be further improved and developed as the sole basis for the progress of socialist and communist society. Special emphasis will also be placed on growth of labor productivity and of the profitability and effectiveness of all economic activity. As Nicolae Ceausescu says about this, further development of the

*As Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out in his Report to the 13th Party Congress.

national wealth and growth of effectiveness, profitability and the national income are the only ways to secure the nation's all-around progress and the people's greater material and cultural welfare.

Development of the party's role and improvement of its functions are the guarantees of these great objectives. To that end the documents of the 13th RCP Congress have formulated new and increasingly high duties for the party organs and organizations and all communists. The Report to the 13th RCP Congress points out the need of always keeping the active, innovating and revolutionary spirit of the party alive and of further efforts to improve the party's leadership in keeping with the requirements of the new stage and of the programs for socioeconomic development. As Nicolae Ceausescu said, "Let us make every effort so that the RCP will always be a revolutionary party, stimulating all development and preserving the Romanian people's revolutionary, patriotic and militant spirit."

On the principle that construction of the new order is the outcome of the purposeful activity of the masses and the entire people, the RCP is emphasizing formation of the new man's awareness, the advanced social and moral values, patriotic awareness and the revolutionary spirit. This effort has been brilliantly embodied in the RCP Ideological Program, crafted by the Expanded Plenum of the RCP Central Committee of June 1982 and ratified by the 13th RCP Congress as an integral part of the RCP Program for Building the Fully Developed Socialist Society and for Romanian's Advance Toward Communism. The documents of the 13th RCP Congress accordingly stress the requirement for the party organs and organizations always to be guided by the revolutionary conception and always to act in the revolutionary spirit.

The Ceausesc Era As a Higher Stage of Romanian Society's Historical Development

The victory of the Antifascist and Anti-Imperialist Revolution for Social and National Liberation 40 years ago was the culmination of a long revolutionary process and a result of the RCP's struggle to unite the working class, the peasantry and the intelligentsia as well as all the national forces in defense of the entire people's interests and Romania's integrity and independence, and it inaugurated a new era in Romanian history, one of great revolutionary reforms. In that brief period the Romanian people progressed through several historical stages of socioeconomic development, from the bourgeois-landowner order to the fully developed socialist society. The strong assertion of the whole nation's creative power under the Communist Party's leadership was the deciding factor for the great innovations Romanian society experienced in that historical period. In only 40 years Romania was transformed from a country with an underdeveloped industry and a backward agriculture into an industrial-agrarian country with a strong modern industry, a socialist agriculture in full progress, and a steadily rising material and cultural living standard.

The complete and definitive victory of the new order, the increasingly intensive prosperity of socialist Romania, and the beginning of construction of the fully developed socialist society created the objective conditions and background for the full assertion of national independence and sovereignty. This fulfilled, on a higher level, the Romanian people's centuries-old aspirations to live in freedom in a unified, independent and prosperous state and to develop peaceful collaboration with their neighbors and all peoples of the world.

The stage inaugurated 20 years ago by the Ninth Party Congress stands out brilliantly in this period of extensive revolutionary reforms, a stage characterized by unprecedented economic and social vitality and by structural changes that have been profoundly influencing Romania's all-around progress and its steady advance on the course of socialism, communism, and a higher material and cultural civilization.

The Ninth Party Congress opened the way to some radical qualitative changes in all sectors of Romanian society as it took up in a new and profoundly creative spirit the vital problems of construction of the socialist system, development of the productive forces, further improvement of social and production relations, social organization and management, enhancement of the entire people's material and cultural welfare, and Romania's free and independent advancement among the nations of the world. As Nicolae Ceausescu said about this, "The Ninth Party Congress unleashed creative energies, did away with a number of stereotypes and dogmas, and assigned the RCP the task of building socialism with the people and for the people, proceeding from the specific Romanian conditions and applying the principles of dialectical materialism and scientific socialism as well as the generally valid truths to the realities of Romania. And it was the elimination of those dogmas and stereotypes that unleashed the Romanian people's energies and brought us the great achievements of today that have raised Romania to higher levels of all-around development in all fields."

In keeping with the dynamic, innovating spirit that characterizes the whole historical period inaugurated 20 years ago, the RCP has been consistently promoting the principle that the superiority of the socialist system does not assert itself automatically but requires sustained efforts toward thorough study of the facts of each stage, without evading the defects and shortcomings at any given given point, in order to secure social management in conformity with the objective trends of social development.

In the period following the historic congress of 1965, socialist Romania made great and important progress in intensive development of the productive forces, consistent industrialization, and development of the other economic sectors, securing the necessary conditions to raise the people's living standard and the level of civilization of all society and to strengthen the nation's material and cultural potential as well as its independence and sovereignty. These achievements emphatically illustrate the originality of the measures taken by the RCP and the state in solving the basic problems of social organization and management, their creative application of the historical and dialectical-materialist conception to the particular social-historical conditions in Romania, and their in-depth study of the new phenomena and aspects appearing in the course of revolutionary social reform and in international affairs.

In the period inaugurated by the Ninth RCP Congress the Communist Party emerged more and more definitely as the vital center of Romania and improved its forms and methods of operation. It is to the indisputable credit of Nicolae Ceausescu that he constantly urged further consolidation of the party's ties with the masses and always made certain that the whole policy of the party and the socialist state was based upon the will and highest interests of the people.

While creatively applying the general tuths of the historical and dialectical-materialist conception to Romania's specific conditions, the RCP and its general

secretary developed new theories and concepts that make a useful contribution to correlation of Romania's experience with socialist construction, to the development of revolutionary theory and practice, and to the enrichment of the treasury of ideas of Marxist thought in accordance with the new conditions and requirements of the present period.

In the last 20 years the party has strengthened and widely developed its ties with the working class, the peasantry, the intelligentsia and the entire people and it has performed its role as the leading force in society by working together with the people and for the people, proving by force of the facts the fundamental truth that socialism and democracy are inseparable and that the socialist society we are building in Romania is serving the Romanian people's aspirations and wishes and is functioning in accordance with the general will of the people and their aspirations to socioeconomic progress and to further improvement of their material and cultural well-being.

Progress on the path of socialism and communism is a highly responsible purposeful social undertaking guaranteed by the party's performance of its function as the vital center of the whole nation. Consolidation of the party's leadership and improvement of its forms of organization and activity according to the tasks set by the 13th Party Congress and the requirements of the great goal of building the fully developed socialist society and the advance toward communism are the guarantees of Romania's rise to new peaks of progress and civilization.

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Kogalniceanu speaks for the "pleasure of appearing before the public" (part II, page 11). We are convinced that M. Kogalniceanu insisted on being in the parliament not to satisfy his vanity of listening to himself, as G. Penelea understood, but to be able to implement reforms which he dreamt of with a view to modernizing the country. He was a convinced supporter of parliamentary life. Regarding this activity, the publishing house could have been easily convinced had it read the discourse entitled modestly "Speech Against the Address Given at the Meeting of the General Assembly of Romania of 9 February 1863." He was a close collaborator of Cuza during the period the Statute, which introduced the bicameral system into the political life of the country, was being worked out. But, the publishing house presents to us, in the person of the famous statesman, a simple vain person who feels satisfaction when he dominates a group of deputies such as Sefendache, Gilca, Cita Niculescu, men with intellects of very low quality. In order to show what a great orator M. Kogalniceanu was, it is not necessary to compare him with such obscure people. He appears great even if he is compared to those more prominent politicians and orators of the respective time.

In the introduction of part II, on page 19, emphasis is placed on the inexcusable interference of the Minister of the Interior in the development of the parliamentary elections.

In addition to the factual material provided by the parliamentary debate, the publishing house also resorts with great satisfaction to the "Files" prepared following a "careful investigation" by V. Russu and D. Vitcu in that direction. The facts extracted with great pleasure from these two sources are exact. A dedicated historian has two tasks from which he should not digress: 1. presenting the facts correctly; 2. explaining to the reader how the things were. Amateur historians usually comply only with the first obligation, no longer being in the position to also comply with the second one. And G. Penelea is satisfied with taking only the facts from the study of those two Iasi researchers, without their comments and interpretations; she does the same with the parliamentary debates. The publishing house never gives the reader the answer to the question of why Kogalniceanu does all these things. Thus it presents to us a distorted, false Kogalniceanu, falsifier of elections, who recruits for himself a parliament which, out of vanity, he can dominate. The reality was completely different.

Other big misrepresentation which the publishing house does with full knowledge referrred to the Parliament of Romania. Not long ago, the Publishing House of the Academy published a valuable history of parliamentary life in Romania, which deserves every praise. In it is pointed out the role which this prestigious institution had in creating modern Romania. Georgeta Penelea presents to us a completely false parliament, a legislative assembly for which Kogalniceanu, has "only a demonstrative role" (ibid. part I, p 84). On page 16 of part II, speaking about the subject of debates and the interest which it presented for the deputies, she tells us: "But the budget, as well as the elections, made the deputies, who otherwise slept on the benches, participate in the debates."

We believe that there is no greater insult than this one against the basic institution of any parliamentary state. It is claimed that this country was

PUBLISHER CRITICIZED FOR MISREPRESENTATIONS OF STATESMAN KOGALNICEANU

Cluj-Napoca TRIBUNA in Romanian 5 Sep 85 p 6

[Article by Vladimir Diculescu: "Misrepresentations in a Critical Edition"]

[Text] A decade ago, the presidium of the Academy of the Socialist Republic of Romania took the initiative of publishing, in a critical edition, the works of M. Kogalniceanu. His entire works, according to their specific character, were divided into several volumes, each of these being given for publication to one or more persons considered competent in the respective fields. The speeches of the famous political figure were also included in these series under the title of "Oratory." Each topic is published in one or more volumes, depending on its size, and the volumes are divided in several parts when necessary. In the lines which follow we will discuss the aspect announced in the title, in the four parts of volume II of the so-called "Oratory" (lectures, additions, remarks), given by the Publishing House of the Academy to Georgeta Penelea for publication.

The fact that a number of historical misrepresentations, to put it mildly, were made in the introduction to part II is a serious matter. In the first place Kogalniceanu--the political figure--is slandered. On page 21 it is stated: "The fact that Mihail Kogalniceanu--all-powerful minister of Prince Cuza, outspoken opponent of parliamentarism (our emphasis), fiery and dominating temperament was invited to join the government in the fall of 1968 confirms the indisputable prestige which he enjoyed." In another part it speaks of the "Caesarism" of Kogalniceanu and his "dictatorial" tendencies, as a person who supported Cuza in carrying out the coup d'etat (cf. part I, p 6). All these facts are inexact, but correspond, among other things, to those maintained by conservative landlords, personal and political enemies, who could not forgive and forget the coup d'etat and the law of 1864. Thus presented, Kogalniceanu appears to us as a man with a totally immoral attitude. A man who from 1857 to 1891 stepped forward as a candidate and participated efficiently in the parliamentary life of Romania (with two absences), is presented, essentially, as an adversary of parliamentary life. Supplementing the statements in this introduction with those on page 8, part I of the volume, where it is stated that "Instead of a dialogue...in the 1864-1865 session there was a monologue by prime minister, interrupted by weak applause," so that the following statement, which is, let us stress again, completely false, can be added:

led by a parliament of sleepers (among whom we cite several names: I.C. Bratianu, C.A. Rosetti, Manolache Costache, P. Carp, Vasile Boerescu, etc.), with only a few staying awake, such as Sefendache, Galca and Cita Niculescu, who made superhuman efforts to stop Kogalniceanu; we find that this is all too much exaggerated, no matter how humorous it seems to the Publishing House.

During the last 50 years many good and bad things have been written on the modern history of Romania and on the politicians of the 19th century. But nobody dared till now to present in such a way Kogalniceanu and his work and the basic institution of constitutional Romania--the Parliament. What ought to be pointed out by the Publishing House is the fact that, during his life, Kogalniceanu was attacked, both in writing and verbally, by very many adversaries, both political and personal. But after his death nobody ever dared anything in that direction. Georgeta Penelea must ask herself a basic question: Why has all the world respected his memory until the year 1980?

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ARMY LCY DISCUSSES STANDARD OF LIVING, FUNDS

AU211943 Belgrade NARODNA ARMIJA in Serbo-Croatian No 2416, 31 Oct 85 pp 5, 10

[Excerpts] A second subject discussed by the LC Committee in the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] at its 20th session held last Thursday [24 October] was some current questions of the standard of living of regular army personnel and civilian personnel working in the YPA. The opening speech was made by Dr Micho Cusic. Having stressed that a continuously falling standard of living in the past few years leads to a serious endangering of the material position of some of the officers and civilians, Cusic went on to say:

This year efforts were made to ensure that any further drop in the standard of living of the regular army personnel and the civilian personnel be checked and that conditions be created for a gradual growth in the coming period. From this point of view, this year may be considered a certain turning point.

The realization of this orientation was accompanied by many difficulties. The greatest problem was presented by the steep rise in prices and the cost of living on the one hand, and the shortage of financial resources on the other. When the financial plans for 1985 were drafted, one reckoned with inflation of about 40 percent. However, even now it can be estimated that it will be close to 80 percent. Under such conditions, the financial resources approved are not sufficient to cover the planned YPA expenditure. An adjustment of the budget was requested and was approved, as you know. It should be stressed that some tendentious interpretations appeared in public information media in connection with the budget adjustment, but the truth is that only those funds were asked for that compensate the higher YPA expenditure because of inflation increasing above the rate calculated in the plan. This is also confirmed by the estimate that the YPA budget this year, despite the adjustment, will amount to 4.82 percent of the national income instead of the 5.2 percent envisaged in the plan for financing the YPA.

Despite the difficulties stipulated, the YPA made maximum efforts and in our assessment ensured that the standard of living of its personnel moved in conformity with the policy adopted for this year. The measures that were taken were taken on time and ran in several directions. This is best shown by the situation in the several subsectors of the standard of living. Thus, for instance, the fall in the real value of personal incomes of regular army personnel was checked this year. Certain changes were also made in the

system of personal incomes. The basic premises in these changes were 1) a search for solutions which will positively influence the moral-political state, the combat buildup, and the efficiency of the YPA, and 2) a firmer linking of personal incomes with work and results of work, while taking into account the existing characteristics of service in the YPA. The building of the personal incomes system of regular army personnel will be continued in the coming period.

For the purpose of bringing the personal incomes of civilians into the closest possible dependence on the nature of the work they do and on the results of labor achieved, new Regulations of Personal Incomes of Civilians Working in Units and Institutions Financed From the Budget have been issued.

The general assessment by the commands of the army regions and the organizational units of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense of the new system of personal incomes is positive, but some shortcomings have been pointed out in connection with the classification of jobs within groups, the evaluation of the result of work, and especially the effect of the years of service necessary for a pension [uticaj penzijskog staza]--which will be reduced--on the amount of personal income.

At the beginning of this year, there were about 25,500 applications for apartments. Out of these, about 22,000 were applications by persons serving in the YPA units and institutions which are financed from the budget, and about 3,500 were by persons working in revenue generating institutions. Out of the total number of apartment applications, about 12,000 or 50 percent are by people who have no apartment of their own, and the other are by people who want a larger apartment or have an apartment of their former place of work.

The waiting period for people who have no apartment of their own amounts to 4 and 1/2 years, and for those who have a right to a larger apartment about 6 years and 7 months. It follows that the average waiting period for an appropriate apartment in the YPA amounts to about 5 years and 6 months. Considering the difficulties in providing the funds as well as the reduction in the volume of housing construction, no essential change in the rate of solving housing problems can be expected in the coming period, either.

Taken as a whole, the provision of housing in the YPA, within the context of the provision of housing in society, may be assessed as favorable.

Referring to the employment of family members of regular army personnel and civilian personnel, Cusic pointed out that this is a very great problem which is constantly being generated through transfers according to the needs of the service. The unemployment of wives of regular army personnel is about 42 percent, except in the territory of the Ljubljana army region where unemployment is only about 15 percent. No data on the employment of children are available, but it is assessed that unemployment among them is large. The situation among civilian personnel is much more favorable for the simple reason that these cadres are territorially stable. Only about 23 percent of spouses are unemployed. The opportunities for resolving this problem more

quickly are very slender, both in the YPA and in society in general, where more than 1 million people are seeking employment.

Further in his speech Cusic spoke about the conditions for rest and recreation, winter supplies, issue of uniforms, children's allowances, and some other elements of the standard of living of regular army personnel and civilian personnel working in the YPA.

He concluded his speech with data on the standard of living of the soldiers which, in contrast with the standard of living of career officers [stalni sastav], has been kept at the level reached earlier regardless of the inflationary, market, and other disturbances in the economic flows of the country.

Dr Nikola Cubra: Truth About the Budget Adjustment

As regards the material essence of the budget adjustment, it is essential to bear in mind the fact that it is not an increase of the funds for financing the YPA but only a partial compensation for what has been lost through a higher increase of prices and inflation. This means that the YPA, proposing that this difference be made good through the adjustment, did not ask for any additional funds and did not expand the volume of its spending and assignments in 1985 beyond the 4.82 percent of the national income as determined in documents on the socioeconomic development of the country and the Law on the Overall Volume of the Federal Budget.

The need to make good these funds in fact arose from the unrealistic estimate of the basic indicators of economic development, especially the rate of inflation. It is known that, when the federal budget was being drafted, one reckoned with 40-percent inflation, a rate of exchange of 210 dinars to the dollar, and a 20-percent average growth of personal incomes. It was clear even then that the nominal value of these indicators will be higher, because of which it was made a legal obligation to revalue the funds for financing the YPA if the inflation rate during the year exceeds the forecast.

Not knowing or insufficiently entering into the reasons for the revaluation of the funds for financing the YPA, a number of information media informed the public incompletely and unobjectively. Views could be heard that the federal budget adjustment does not take into account society's real ability to pay, that it is a fresh burden on the economy and an encouragement to inflation, and that it is not in keeping with the stabilization efforts of society. Although such views did not refer directly to the revaluation of the funds for financing the YPA, but to the federal budget in general, they cannot avoid being connected with the army budget as well, especially in cases when it was stressed that the largest share of the adjustments refers to the YPA.

The communists in the YPA cannot accept any interpretations of the adjustments to the federal budget for 1985 which purport to show that the YPA has received additional funds. This is extreme disinformation to the public, regardless of whether it arises from not knowing the facts or from

intentions which cannot be assessed as well-meaning. [end of report on Cubra statement]

Speaking about some questions of the standard of living of regular army personnel and civilian personnel working in the YPA, Metodija Stefanovski stressed that everything that happens in society--a constant rise of prices, inflation, slowness in solving some vital problems--is naturally reflected in the situation in the YPA, above all in the sphere of the standard of living. By improving the remuneration system we do not always achieve the desired results, because the increase of prices and inflation reduces their positive effects.

Stefanovski pointed out that we must in the future intensify our ideo-political work so as to reduce the scope for the activities of those who wish to exploit our difficulties. In this sense we should increase and improve the information to the people so that it should be clear to every officer and soldier what difficulties and shortcomings we are meeting, and especially what the prospects of getting out of the crisis are.

Commenting on the assessments, positions, and tasks which the committee adopted at this session, Georgije Jovicic in conclusion of the discussion said that the standard of living is a question of first-class importance, because it directly reflects on the moral-political state and the combat readiness of the units. The steps and tasks to preserve it are successfully implemented despite the economic difficulties which our entire society is experiencing. Certain omissions made in the system of remunerating the civilians will be eliminated with the further improvement of this system, Jovicic said. He called on all organs and organizations of the LC in the YPA to involve themselves even more in finding solutions which will bring the standard of living of YPA personnel into accord with work and results of work, the requirements of the YPA development, and the material possibilities of society.

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KOSOVO REINSTATES FORMER OPSTINA

[Editorial Report] The 23 October 1985 issue of the Pristina daily JEDINSTVO in its supplement DELEGATSKE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian publishes a draft law approved by the Kovoso Assembly on 16 October 1985 which provides for the reformation of a previously existing opstina, Malisevo, in this province, to be formed from parts of Klina, Glogovac, and Suva Reka opstinas. In discussing the reasons for the additional opstina, the law says that "certain opstinas in the province are too large with a fairly large number of inhabitants and with many settlements too removed from the opstina capital, a situation which is reflected in the [reduced] possibilities for realizing the rights and duties of working people and citizens of these areas....This is especially true for the area of the former Malisevo Opstina.

"Uneven economic development of the province's opstinas and the growing number of opstinas which are being treated as economically underdeveloped areas is a reflection of the growth of migratory movements of the population to more developed opstinas and urban centers which has intensified the economic and social problems of these more developed opstinas and city centers. In fact, in the recent period there has been a concentration of material [better] conditions mainly in larger opstinas centers, as a result of which the more uniform development of all parts of the opstinas has been neglected or not fully achieved."

Malisevo Opstina is expected to contain 40 settlements with 97.96 percent (34,146 persons) of its population Albanian and 1.2 percent Serb. The draft law noted that the elimination of this opstina in 1965 had had negative consequences, and that "in the last 10 years this area, in addition to a number of contradictions, has become characterized as having a very high population increase."

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